

BRIDLEWAYS THROUGH HISTORY



BRIDLEWAYS THROUGH HISTORY

by

LADY APSLEY



*With 45 sketches and
14 full-page drawings by*
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HENRY, 10TH DUKE OF BEAUFORT
IN TOKEN OF GOOD SPORT
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

FOR THIS BOOK I CAN ONLY APOLOGISE TO HISTORIANS, scholars, schoolmasters and all people of that ilk for trespassing on preserves where a person without degrees to her name has little right. So I would like to explain at once that my aim is not much above that of a fingerpost on the roadside of Life as lived—which we call History.

To-day, there are so many marvellously smooth stretches of highway that people pass along in effortless ease without looking either right or left, but occasionally it is difficult to find an interesting road. Here and there a by-way cuts across country through green fields and by grass lanes to unfrequented places; in the English Midlands these are called "bridle-paths," and they are generally most fair and pleasant travelling.

Likewise, there are many roads to knowledge. Most of them are well-worn highways, but if you tire, or find them noisy and hackneyed, or frankly lose your way, come with me and look at History from the bridle-tracks. At the best you will gain a fresh outlook by the time you regain the hard high road in this workaday world; at the worst you will know of new country in green places.

The idea of attempting this book entered my head when I was reading an otherwise delightful memoir on Louis XIV, and came upon some such sentence as: "in his old age the King could not mount on horseback and used to drive out in his carriage to watch one hundred of his female running dogs coursing deer in the woods at Versailles." The eminent author did not appreciate that (1) though "running dogs" may be the literal translation of the French, *chiens courants* always means "hounds"; (2) the Royal Hounds of that date hunted only the red-deer stag; (3) when no longer able to ride, Louis XIV was so keen on hunting that he drove to hounds in a specially built light chaise through the Forest of Versailles, the rides of which were carefully designed for this purpose; (4) fifty couple of the bitch pack from the most famous Kennel in Christendom on the line of their stag was then considered almost the finest sight in Europe; (5) the breeding of the Royal White Hounds had been the pride and glory of successive Kings of France—they were famous throughout the world for their speed, stamina, nose, cry and "freedom from change."

INTRODUCTION

Constantly, in books dealing with historical periods, there are references to the contemporary riding and hunting, which become doubly interesting, if one has a little knowledge of the best practice of the day. The whole point of Shakespeare's Prince Hal, who rode :

“ As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus
And witch the world with noble horsemanship ”

is lost, unless one knows something of the former Art of Riding and how a horse was taught “ to turne readilie on both hands with single turne and double turne.” In *Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship* Blundevill gives twenty-nine pages to the description of the “ turns ” of the “ ready horse,” and only after knowing something of this almost forgotten science shall we agree that to “ turn and wind a fiery Pegasus ” was indeed the finest achievement of the best horsemen of late-Tudor times.

This book is not meant for those who know the meaning of “ full merrily hath this brave *manège*, this *career* been run,” or why it is incorrect to refer to the wild animal in the course of being hunted as “ the quarry.” Some may not readily connect *Tally Ho!* so beloved by writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on hunting, with the Crusades ; nor the familiar word meaning a favourite recreation with the smooth-going Irish *hobby-horse* of the Middle Ages. Yet these things are so, and the average hunting person to-day, setting out to gallop and maybe break down the farmer's fences, has little idea either of the true antiquity of the Sport of which he has the honour to be a Member, or of the various ideas which down the Ages have shaped the development of the Sport of Kings—to-day known as Fox-hunting.

In undertaking this book I feel as one of the fools who rush in front of timorous angels. I dread lest inaccuracies may appear light-heartedly set forth. But after all is not real History often written by the urge to correct the other fellow ? And has not the historical novel paved the way for the real thing ? If you can correct my mistakes, then my task is done. my sole intention is to do a little directing to ways in places where I have myself enjoyed, plenty left to the expert. For every theory due humility—many more will spring to t erudite reader and the true amateur of His

I cannot hope to write a History of Hunting story of a nation's hunting is the history but if by any means, fair or foul, I write a “ real proper book ” about

mind or practice of body in Hunting or Riding while planning the future of their country, I shall be most happy at the result. I would like to show that delight in the work of horse and hound has characterised some of the best and ablest in the course of History.

Moreover, I have a niece who was first pressed into learning arithmetic by doing sums in horse-shoes, and for myself, I know to my own sorrow how much more profitably I would have learnt French grammar had I been given M. Pluvinal's book on Riding, *L'Instruction du Roi*, to translate, rather than Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. In view of the interest taken to-day in Riding by people who never learnt as children, as well as of the revival in the practice of Equitation, and, above all, of the growing members of the Pony Club, I feel that this inextricable mixing of History, Riding and Hunting, possibly may not come amiss at this present time.

I ought to point out that in quoting from the old authors, where the meaning is plain I have put oddly misspelt words into modern English for the easement of the readers of the type I expect. And then I must apologise for a certain amount of repetition—unavoidable when Hunting through History. The fox has run straight enough, but my hounds consist of a somewhat mixed pack, of which Wishful, Wilful, Dauntless, Diligent and Truthful are perhaps the best.

Lastly, I must thank all those who have helped me with information and the loan of photographs, the authors from whose writings I have quoted, my husband and my sister for their helpful criticism, and my friend Mr. Lionel Edwards, whose illustrations will make the best excuse for this book.

VIOLA APSLEY.

PETTY FRANCE,
BADMINTON.
Feb. 1936.

BRIDLEWAYS THROUGH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

"THE BEGINNINGS"

*"What did you, Orion,
In mortal life, that yours should be
Such happy immortality,
What dragon slew, what lion?
That you should walk the windy sky
Night long, and see the bird stars fly
And wheel and dip as they go by,
With a belt for your sword and your sword for the Bear
And the wind of Heaven in your hair,
And, cool and pressing, ever feel
The nose of the Dog Star at your heel."*

"The Hunter," *Country Life*, July 13th, 1935.

I

FOOD HAS ALWAYS BEEN OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE. WELL fed, lying on his back beside the glowing camp fire, prehistoric man probably looked to the everlasting stars, but his mind perforce returned to more mundane things—food-getting. History and Romance, fact and fancy, early met around the cooking pot—representing the day's trial in Field or Forest. We cannot tell of the actual beginnings of Hunting.

The Beginnings are constantly being put back—in China, Siberia, Mesopotamia, Syria, America, East Africa, Palestine or the British Isles—wherever archæologists are working.

The real origins of Hunting must lie buried somewhere in the Stone Age—that convenient designation which covers thousands of years, occurred thousands of years ago, being moreover subdivided into periods which also may well be thousands of years apart. It is likely that the Pleistocene Age—which seems to have witnessed the first appearance of Early Stone, or Palæolithic cultures—was at least a million years ago, and it is probable that

Modern Man's real progenitors appeared some five hundred thousand years ago. Of these early hunters traces have been found in all parts of the world, though so far many links are missing in the prehistorical evidence of *Homo Sapiens*—Modern Man.

Professor L. S. B. Leakey, leader of the East African Archæological Expeditions, in his book, *Adam's Ancestors* (1934), giving one the latest outlines of what is known about the origin of Man, states, "Primitive Stone Age man was essentially a hunter who lived where game was most plentiful . . . that is where there is a good water supply and good pasturage, particularly near lakes." Of this Man many traces have been found all over the world ; and though there is as yet little evidence as to what he looked like, the work of his hands has come to light for us under the care and guidance of experts from beneath the accumulation of centuries. Implements, varying from roughly chipped stones to the most beautifully executed tools—all prove that Early Men and cousins of men hunted in their several ways.

The term "hunting" of course must be taken to include all down the Ages until comparatively recent times all the varieties of modern Field Sports, such as fishing, shooting, tracking, etc., as well as lassoing, trapping, poisoning, netting or hamstringing—no doubt one method of obtaining food in the Stone Age. Hunting meant the chase of a wild animal in its natural haunts for the sake of the food, clothing, etc. it represented, entailing danger, hardship and skill—an aspect of hunting never to be forgotten by us. At least some difficulty and danger—even if only represented to-day by personal inconvenience and discomfort—remains an integral part of any true Field Sport.

Little has come to light yet to show us what animals our earlier ancestors hunted. The chief information has been gleaned from their rubbish dumps and cave floors showing what Early Man ate for his meals. It seems fairly certain that one of his most dreaded enemies—after possibly the sabre-toothed tiger and the hyena—was the cave-bear, who could climb out of practically any pit to which he had been enticed, was much more dangerous than any modern bear and has left signs of his occupation in many of Early Man's rock dwellings. There seems to be some evidence that the hunter used to lie in wait to get the cave-bear and stunned him with a well-directed stone over the left eye. (*Art of the Cave Dweller*, C. Baldwin Brown.) Pit-falls of various kinds were undoubtedly used on suitable ground, and it seems likely from some of the sketches by these early hunters found on the walls in certain caves that they used darts which they flung at the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave-lion, and the great elk, first trying to weaken their great adversaries. In one

cave in the upper Saone region on the Continent hundreds of skeletons of the cave-bear have been found, fire being possibly the means of offensive used; David's sling and stone was probably of very early origin. Indeed, the skill and bravery of our Stone Age ancestors must have been much greater than our own. Some of us now groan at our everyday difficulties which pale into insignificance compared to those faced and overcome by Early Men—perhaps not so surprising as many of them had considerably greater brain capacity than most of us to-day! There are silly notions of cave-men always knocking their women about—the evidence seems to be mostly the other way.

We can find out a good deal as to the methods our Early ancestors employed for hunting their dinner from the Australian aboriginal, a Stone Age type left behind in the general advance of mankind, as has been proved from botanical and geological research. The Aboriginal exists in a way very similar to that of our own forebears thousands of years ago, representing a peculiar example of arrested development; the reason being still obscure. Possibly it is that in Australia there were none of the very savage enemies as found in so many other parts of the world, or that the island continent missed one or more of those great Ice Ages which forced living creatures in other regions to develop and readapt themselves. Most likely the fact of Australia being relatively early cut off in the world's history from the rest of the world, isolated her from contact with newer and better forms developed under the stress of circumstances. Certain flowering plants in Western Australia of a simple type are unknown anywhere else in the world at the present time, except as fossils in coal deposits formed æons ago in East Africa. The inference is that men and animals downwards develop best under conditions of difficulty—the bramble producing most blackberries when fairly pruned by sheep, men showing their best side in danger, and so on.

We can see the Aboriginal flaking a stone into a sharp edge to use as a knife or a spear head, throwing a stone or a boomerang at a lizard, killing it unerringly, making fire with rubbing sticks, fishing, diving, working deftly with his hands, walking noiselessly, able to go great distances, a marvellous tracker, and a maker of bush telegraphs; it is the women who hunt the smaller animals, with sharp eyes discovering edible roots, and with quick fingers skinning a kangaroo knocked over with a boomerang. If Primitive Man used boomerangs, the latter must have perished long ere this. The Australian aboriginals are a long way behind in development, compared to those Europeans who belonged to the

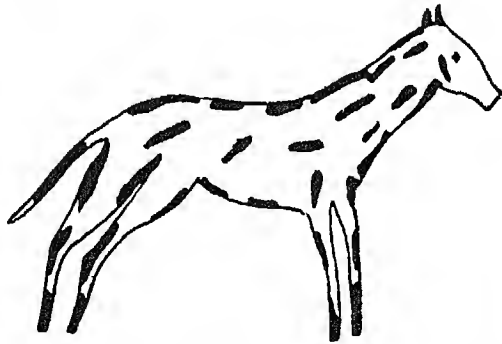
later Stone Age cultures. The Australians are too primitive to have got to the stage of using bows and arrows for hunting.

Professor Osborn, in *Men of the Old Stone Age*, points out the interconnections of Ireland, Great Britain, Scandinavia, with the land bridges at Gibraltar and the toe of Italy to North Africa, which allowed the free migration of mammalian life north and south, so that in some prehistoric age elephants and hippopotami from Africa roamed across Europe with the moose, stag, wild boar and roe deer from Asia.

Stone Age tools of the so-called Chellean and Acheulean cultures are abundant in many parts of Europe. It is evident that these men followed the animals they hunted from place to place, probably often hard pressed by climatic conditions connected with approaching or receding periods of great cold—the so-called Ice Ages. Only migratory species—of men and animals, such as the reindeer—could save themselves. Time and again sites have been discovered used by people hundreds of years apart in race, culture and time. It has been found that men of Chellean times pursued the giant elephant and rhinoceros as their predecessors thousands of years previously in the same valley of the Somme had hunted the extinct woolly mammoth and the golden haired woolly rhino. The people of the Chellean culture, also, were “a race of bold hunters who lived in the open and whose entire industry developed round the products of the chase.” (*Men of the Old Stone Age*, Professor Osborn.)

So far, the pre-historians have no well-authenticated remains of the men responsible for these Chellean tools in Europe, and the only human fragments which can be attributed with certainty to either of these cultures are the pieces of skull from Kanjera, East Africa. The discoverer of this skull—Professor Leakey—writes, “without doubt somewhere in the gravel beds, brick earth and other Pleistocene strata which yield tools of these two cultures will one day be found Early Man”—and, incidentally, the first known hunting person. It may fall to anyone with sufficient observation to be the lucky discoverer. Professor Sollas, in *Ancient Hunters*, tells the story of the finding of the first so-called “cave drawings” in Europe—eventually acknowledged as the work of early men and the first example of Art. A certain Spanish nobleman, by name Marcellino de Sautuola, on visiting the great International Exhibition in Paris in 1878, became acquainted with discoveries made in the caves of Southern France of Stone Age tools, which led him to investigate similar caves near his own home in Santander in Spain. In one of them—the Cueva de Altamira—he found the usual Palæolithic debris, bones of extinct animals, worked flints, etc. Whilst digging about for these to compare with those he had seen at the

exhibition, his little daughter, who had accompanied him to the cave and soon like a child got tired of watching such an uninteresting performance, began to look restlessly about her. Suddenly the little girl's attention was arrested and she cried out "*Toros*—the Bulls! *Toros!*" she cried again, so that her father stopped his digging operations to ask her what she meant. The child pointed upwards to the roof of the cave and there de Sautuola beheld a crowd of perfectly sketched figures, some life-size, representing not only bulls but also accurately drawn horses and deer, and what looked very like a wild boar, and a mare and her foal. At first the Marquis thought some of his own men had done the drawings, but as his sharp-eyed little daughter pointed out the bulls had humps—they were the wild bison of Europe, which had finally died out in the Middle Ages in Spain! In this humble way was made one of the greatest discoveries of the Age. It is not surprising that at first de Sautuola's discovery was greeted with scepticism—the majority of people in Europe at that time believing literally in the Flood; but since then many similar drawings have been found of the Magdalenian period, often in a perfect state of preservation and of high merit as works of Art, full of life and movement, perfect in detail, particularly the drawings of a horse at Combarelles, and the mammoth and reindeer—belonging to Magdalenian and Aurignacian periods respectively—as well as rock paintings found in 1933 at Owenat in North Africa (the Libyan Desert) which may possibly represent a discovery as important as that of the Spanish cave drawings.



*"A kind of prehistoric horse which seems to be half-donkey and half-zebra." (Dr. J. Murphy.)
Rock painting recently discovered in the Libyan
Desert by Count Almansy.*

It is doubtful whether the cave drawings have any artistic or decorative purpose, being more probably connected with religious

ceremonies—possibly founded on the primitive theory that if you imitated real animals as closely as possible, the animal portrayed would be enticed into your power. This was akin to later mediæval belief that a sorcerer by making a model and sticking it with pins caused his victim to die.

Then there was the interesting Cro-Magnon man, over six foot tall, broad-chested like a negro but with no other negroid features and "a length of upper arm and shin-bone, with strong thigh bone and long legs characteristic of a hunting race, swift of foot and a brain as large as ours"—what Professor Keith calls "one of the finest races the world has ever seen." The ancestors of the Basques may have conquered the Cro-Magnons, whose women were curiously small, like the Red Indian squaws.

The Neolithic, or New Stone Age, followed the Old Stone Age, until the Bronze Age began at approximately 5000 B.C.—varying in different parts of the world, in the same way as there are still people living like ourselves and the inhabitants of United States of America in a Machine Age, at the same time as others like the West African native are some way behind.

During most of the Old Stone Age Great Britain had been under snow and ice—but men could walk across what is now the Straits of Dover. The first New Stone men in England were merely part of the great continental influx gradually pushing westwards, bringing with them sheep, goats, pigs and cattle—requiring enclosures. Neolithic men were herdsmen, more of the type of Abram and Lot in the Old Testament, rather than hunters. Except for the open downlands and hill-tops, probably the great elk, wild cattle, bears, beavers, wild cats, red deer, wild pigs and wolves had the rest of the country to themselves. From 5000 B.C. or even 8000 B.C. Mediterranean people moved into these islands throughout the New Stone Age.

The links lie far apart and probably there is still much evidence awaiting discovery to make the puzzle fit together. Was the worship of Aaron's golden calf somehow connected up with these Stone Age cultures by way possibly with that prehistorical period in Southern Greece known as Minoan? Such a theory may sound fantastic, but one of the few things known for certain of Minos in Crete is that the chase of the bull—possibly the wild cattle of Europe—figured largely in the life of these highly cultivated Bronze Age people.

II

From the ancient picture writings we know that at the dawn of recorded history—in the time of the Old Kingdom of Egypt (2980-2475 B.C.)—the nobles lived the life of country-gentlemen

A Sumerian rein-ring from Queen Shub-ad's chariot pole found in the royal graves at Ur. (3,200 B.C. Sir Leonard Woolley.) (Height $\frac{5}{8}$ inches in silver and electrum.)

(By permission British Museum)

in delightful houses and gardens. Professor Breasted writes in *A History of Egypt* :

"The Egyptian was passionately fond of nature and outdoor life . . . not infrequently the noble undertook the more arduous sport of the desert, where he might bring down the huge wild ox with his long bow ; capture alive numbers of antelopes, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes, wild oxen, wild asses, ostriches and hares. . . . In this lighter side of the Egyptian's life, his never-failing cheerfulness in spite of his constant and elaborate preparation for death, we find a pervading characteristic of his nature, which is so evident in his art, as to raise it far above the sombre heaviness that pervades the contemporary Art of Asia."

The Egyptian noble of this time was also fond of going out in his canoe to bring down wild-fowl with his boomerang or throwing stick—"finding his sport in the use of this difficult weapon, which, for this reason, he preferred to the more effective and less difficult bow." A delightful illustration in Breasted's book shows a noble of the Old Kingdom hunting wild-fowl with the throw-stick from a skiff of reeds in the papyrus marshes, accompanied by his wife or daughter. It is also symptomatic that the earliest known painting in the world—an Egyptian water-colour on the wall of a pre-dynastic tomb (at Quibell, Hieraconopolis)—represents boats, wild animals, and men hunting. The more known about the details of life in Ancient Egypt, the more we understand how they loved and appreciated animal life—or their artists could never have produced such wonderful pictures, models and reliefs so true to Nature.

Hundreds of years later, in the time of the so-called Empire of Egypt, we read of the great warrior King Amenhotep III (who died about 1375 B.C.) that among the king's favourite diversions was hunting, which he practised on an unprecedented scale. When his scouts brought him word that a herd of wild cattle had appeared among the hills bordering the Delta, he would leave the palace at Memphis in the evening, sail north all night and reach the herd in the early morning. A numerous body of troops, with children from the villages, then surrounded the herd and drove them into a large enclosure—a method also employed by other peoples. On one occasion his beaters counted no less than one hundred and seventy wild cattle in the enclosure. Entering it in his chariot the king himself slew fifty-six of the savage beasts on the first day, to which number he added probably twenty more at a second onslaught which followed after four days' interval of rest. Amenhotep III had got a long way from the simple sport-loving people who threw boomerangs at wild duck—he was out for records and slaughter, a characteristic which perhaps shows some Semitic influence. The king was so pleased with this

Egyptian chariot and horses at Abu Simbel. (Reign of Sesostris III, 1887-1849 B.C. Breasted.)

(From " *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, ' by A. E. Champollion.)

particular record that he issued a series of scarabs to his friends commemorating the event. He did the same to record his lion-killing exploits: "Statement of lions which his Majesty brought down with his own arrows from the first to the tenth year of his reign: fierce lions one hundred and two."

One of the chief characteristics of this so-called "Amarna Age"—represented to us so fascinatingly by the treasures of Tutankhamen,¹ who succeeded Akhenaten, son of Amenhotep III—is its freshness and love of Nature and the sun. Likewise, in the time of the Second Empire (1350–1150 B.C.), we can still trace in the noblest monuments of Egyptian art—for instance, the battle reliefs of Seti I at Karnak (1313 B.C.) (with its interesting horses), Rameses II at Kadesh (1288 B.C.) and in many sketches of birds or papyri—the keen insight into animal life, characteristic of the Egyptian artist all down the Ages, granted only to those who know and understand Nature from life-long intercourse and love of it—and still characteristic of the best type of sporting people.

Nimrod, the first king of Babylon, about 2000 B.C., was "a mighty hunter before the Lord." The Assyrians loved hunting above all other pleasures of this world. The finest Assyrian friezes in the British Museum include hunters and the game hunted by the greatest in the land (800 B.C.). The Persians, neighbours to the Assyrians and later on their conquerors under Cyrus and Darius, were equally keen on hunting—Darius writing out this obituary for himself: "I loved my friends, I was an excellent horseman and a brilliant huntsman, nothing was impossible to me."

The great men of Chaldea, Nineveh, Babylon and Mesopotamia for hundreds of years delighted in hunting. It was said of the Persians that they taught their children "to ride, to shoot and to tell the truth."

The Persian practice was to attack on foot wild animals enclosed in big parks called "paradises," and also to ride down wild boar, deer, buffalo, gazelle, etc.—as can be seen portrayed in a most lifelike manner on the celebrated "cup of King Firouz" in the Luynes collection, Paris. Thousands of men were employed to beat a wide area, nets and staked palisades being used to keep in the game, a typical Asiatic method employed by Genghis Khan, as well as by the forerunners of modern Europe.

We cannot tell how much all this has influenced Western civilisation, but we know that the Greeks and Romans borrowed

¹ On King Tutankhamen's gold fan we can see engravings of him hunting the ostriches whose feathers compose the fan itself.

freely from Egypt and Assyria. A piece of reindeer horn carved with Man's early adversaries is one of the oldest things in England, and the Psalms in the Bible, Homer, Celtic legends, Scandinavian Sagas, ancient burials, all contain the beginnings of Horse, Hound and wild animal pursued by Man—still the essence of Hunting as we know it to-day and as those people knew it hundreds of years ago—far apart in race, culture, thought, action and most other characteristics.

We do not know for certain who first built the hill-top "camps" in prehistoric England, the "sun temples" of Avebury, Stonehenge, or Silbury, reminiscent in many details of an agricultural people and Egyptian influence—or maybe even of Babylonian or Mediterranean origin. There is still much left to discover, but this much is certain that the first sods were turned by hands working with picks consisting of the antlers of red deer—hunted by people in Southern Britain before the Bronze Age—possibly five thousand years before Christ. Though it is likely that the great earthworks and "forts" date back only to the relatively late time of the Early Iron Age—represented in England by the Celtic invasions of people pushing up from the Mediterranean and lasting from the seventh century B.C. to the Roman Conquest—it is more than probable in Britain, that wild beasts, particularly wolves, were as dangerous then as other men and that the defences of the camps were against wolves, as well as human neighbours.

The people of the British Isles are a mixed race; how pure or how mixed we are only beginning to find out. But whoever we are or whatever is still to be discovered, facts emerge to prove that our past has been influenced again and again by people and things from Overseas—all of whom may have had totally different characteristics, but some part of which have remained in our national life. Prehistoric Egyptian, Phœnician, Iberian, Greek, Gaul, Celt, Roman, Scandinavian, Saxon, Angle, Dane, Norman, Frenchman, Asiatic and Jew have left criss-cross influences on our island history in their comings and goings which have remained in some form or another in legend and tradition all down the Ages in our national habits and customs. But of all things whereof we can make out the beginnings to a greater or lesser extent, a passion for Hunting seems to me the one characteristic which most of our ancestors and mentors shared in common—a taste which has defied the passing of time and adjusted itself in a remarkable manner to the exigencies of each period in our history. Most particularly has hunting appealed all down the Ages to that type of mind and character fated to be in the forefront of the action of the times. And the things that men most

care about—their oral or written history, religion, poetry, painting, art, literature—are full of references to Hunting; sculpture, design and handicraft bear witness to the same.

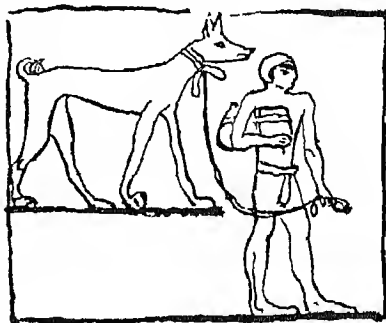
III

The French scientist Buffon wrote: “Le premier art de l’homme a été l’éducation du chien, et le fruit de cet art, la conquête et la possession paisible de toute la terre.” Hunters were probably accompanied by their dogs at a relatively early time in the history of human advance. How, or when, dogs were first domesticated is unlikely to be discovered for certain, but surely we may guess that Stone Age hunting fathers brought back puppies of the dog-like wolves or wolf-like dogs to the children in the cave home, sparsely provided with toys and playthings, at a time long before any other wild animal had been domesticated. Such puppies would grow to be first watch-dogs, warning of strangers coming, then guard-dogs fighting to the last against the invasion of the cave home; after that it was but a step to make them companions of the hunt. What more likely than that these wolf-dogs would develop into the bravest challengers of the enemies of human existence—the cave-bear and the cave-lion? Probably early dogs would help to scare and drive the large woolly mammoth or the treacherous, savage and equally woolly rhinoceros, once both so prevalent in Europe—into the pits so cunningly dug to catch them. To-day, we can see how the Australian aborigines love their dogs. If one disturbs a family asleep in a shack after the midday meal, out tumbles the whole lot—dogs first, then children, tousled women and, lastly, a man or two! Joy in the companionship of a dog is a very early instinct; though doubtless hunting them in a pack was a comparatively recent accomplishment.

It is possible that the Australian dingo to-day represents an early type of wild hunting dog which has become extinct in all other parts of the modern world. Evidence of their bones has been found in company with that of other early animals in Australia suggesting a much more ancient origin for the dingo than formerly had been considered possible. Mountain dogs—such as the St. Bernard, Tibetan mastiff, etc., have certainly come to Europe from the East. Is it possible that natural conditions which have caused the evolution of flat-nosed men have also caused the pug-faced dog? The dingo is probably an example of dogs of the Great Dane, mastiff, and bull-terrier type before they were domesticated by man.

Those early Egyptians of the First Empire, who enjoyed hunting along the banks of the Nile, are often shown accompanied

by one or more hounds—mostly of the modern greyhound or Saluki in appearance, but stronger built and with prick ears. To-day, in Africa, there are native breeds of dogs approximating to this type; and in Mallorca there is a breed called the Ibiza hound, which traditionally is descended from hounds left there by the Phœnicians, or more probably by the Crusaders. The Ibiza is certainly one of the oldest breeds of hounds in Europe, and unlike the greyhound he hunts by scent as well as sight. The late Mr. Cecil Aldin, in *Time I Were Dead*, says: "To-day they are used in a pack to hunt hares and rabbits . . . they are wonderful jumpers, strong and beautifully made, and in appearance are exactly like those represented in Egyptian papyri—for the most part white with tan markings, and generally smooth coated." Mr. E. C. Ash, in *Dogs: their History and Development*, also refers to the likeness between the Ibiza hound and those of Ancient Egypt. "We see," he writes, "a dog wearing an exceedingly broad collar, signifying—I suggest—more than usual strength; the muzzle is that of a gazelle hound, but the head is heavier. The long ears are held upright."



*Early Egyptian hound of the
Ibiza type.*

So many of the niceties of civilisation are traceable to Ancient Egypt that it is likely we are indebted to the same source for first breeding a type of dog suitable for hunting by nose. The Egyptians undoubtedly worshipped dogs—a fact possibly connected with the Dog star rising on the very date that the Nile rises and overflows. The old writers seem to be at one in referring to the Egyptian hound as a definite type or types. We can be quite sure that the dogs of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia were true hounds and not, as is often stated, semi-domesticated jackals or wolves.

The earliest representations of dogs in Egypt come from green slate tablets belonging to the Archaic period, 4400–4000 B.C., found at Gebelen, and represent hounds attacking wild animals. (British Museum and Ashmolean at Oxford.)

The tomb of one of the most ancient kings of Thebes, Antef—which was erected more than 5,000 years ago—represents the hunting king surrounded by his pack.¹ Upright on his feet, well

¹ In March of this year a fresh tomb was discovered, believed to be the earliest in civilised Egyptian history yet found, and identified as the burial place of Hemaka, Vizier to a 1st Dynasty King of about 3500 B.C. One of the chief "finds" in the tomb is a small disc made of schist inlaid with coloured stones, representing in delightful style hounds hunting a gazelle—the hounds being of the Ibiza type with prick ears and curling sterns.

coupled-up, ears drooping but short, his whole appearance suggesting vigour, Antef's hound nearly represents a modern fox-hound, except that he is somewhat disfigured by a stern curling over his back. From the inscription it appears that the four favourite hounds of Antef were named *Abaker*, *Paltes*, *Pakaro*, and *Bakuta*—being "excellent for hunting antelope." Another dog on the same tomb wears a light collar and alongside it is wording meaning "white antelope," seeming to infer the colour and swiftness of this hound, a type which is represented again



Egyptian hounds from ancient tombs.

and again—as, for instance, in the offerings brought to Rameses II (1266 B.C.). There is also another breed very similar to the modern greyhound, but with the longer feet suitable for running on sand and typical of the Saluki to-day.

The Assyrians and Babylonians bred magnificent hounds, somewhat of the Saluki in appearance, and others more powerfully built with great jaws of the Australian dingo or bull terrier type and evidently used for lion-hunting, such as we can see portrayed in the magnificent Assyrian sculptured reliefs of the Assurbanipal period (c. 600 B.C.). See Plate IV.

There is little doubt that the Hellenic Greeks assimilated much of the culture of Egypt, as well as that of the Ægean civilisation, whose people they ousted from the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It is likely that they imported hounds from Egypt—which may have been of the smooth-coated Ibiza breed; it is certain that the early Greek tribes brought with them, from the north, good hounds. There are many references to hounds in Homer—for instance, *Argos* the faithful hound of Ulysses.

Very early in Ancient Greece two types among breeds of dogs evolved—hounds for hunting and those very strong and fierce for use as watch-dogs and sheep-dogs. From which latter the magnificent-looking Albanian dog of to-day may be descended, as also the ancient breed of great white rough-coated Hungarian sheep-dogs, now fast dying out on the plain of Hungary, and

formerly used to keep away wolves and thieves from the flocks and herds. In England Neolithic men undoubtedly brought with them guard-dogs for their flocks, herds, and probably hounds to help them kill deer, wild boar and wolves.

Among the very early writers—from Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) to Ælian (A.D. 260)—there seems a prevalent idea that the best and fiercest dogs came from India and were descended from the union of a tiger and a bitch! These Indian hounds were said to have been tawny coloured, with black noses, small flop ears, with sharp teeth and claws and very brave and fierce—it being related by Ælian that Alexander the Great saw one kill a lion unaided and then an elephant. This is probably the breed shown attacking lions in the Assyrian friezes. These dogs also used to run beside and guard the fighting chariots of the Persians—a story being told of a Persian general killed in battle, how all his followers left him except the great hound he had bred himself who refused to leave his master's dead body. Pliny likewise mentions these hounds that came from India and disdained wild boar and deer and would only hunt lions and elephants. It is unlikely there is any of this lion-hunting blood in any of our hounds to-day,¹ though it is sometimes stated that the Pekinese dog has been bred down the course of centuries from a lion-hunting strain!

The old Roman poet, Grattius, nobly described the dog: "Dogs have a thousand countries and each is in character what his country makes him." The people of the British Isles have always been of a distinctly sporting nature, though at earlier times this sporting instinct was shown in decidedly cruel ways; it follows that they developed and trained their dogs to assist in the variety of sports which at the time interested them. Times and opportunities change in the course of ages: in the dog, as in the child, can be seen the effects of constant control and continual education. The dog of to-day, whether engaged in picking his way through the traffic of a town or in turning sheep or retrieving a bird in the country, possibly starts life on a higher mental plane than his lion-hunting ancestor. There is a mental atmosphere which passes from the owner to his constant animal companion. "Like master like man" is and has been true of many an owner and his dog. The dog of well-educated people somehow or other collects some of their education, habits and manners; the dog of a man who lives by his wits conversely appears to vie with his biped companion in craft and cunning. Thus local breeds developed. And thus in England, France, Germany and Russia, and indeed all over the world, men of high position developed a hunting-dog more often than not with local blood, and by degrees stabilised a

¹ In 1913 Mr. Paul Rainey had a pack of lion-hunting dogs which showed excellent sport in East Africa.

breed to suit his conditions. Unless outside communications were good, the local characteristic became, of course, extremely strong—though it is evident from early writers that good dogs and hounds were such a valuable trading commodity that they were exchanged in spite of the greatest difficulties. Good breeds became known by name if not by sight throughout the world—as, for instance, the Celtic-Irish wolf-hound, the Greek Molassian watch-dog and the Spartan hound. All down history great princes exchanged breeds and sent presents to each other of hounds—though possibly never their best. A locality would become famous and someone would make it his business to breed the type required.

Also, fashion has often unfortunately taken a hand in the development of dogs and hounds. Some "authority" has only to make a pronouncement—perhaps that white dogs are lucky, for there to be a wild rush to have white dogs, or that yellow-eyed dogs are useless—for all such to be destroyed as puppies.¹ It has ever been the same. Moreover, the meanings of words change, with mystifying results to those hunting over the bridle-paths of the past. For instance, in Ancient Greece *foxhound* literally meant one bred from a fox—possibly the ancestor of our modern terrier breeds; and in the Middle Ages *bulldogs* definitely meant any dog able to catch hold of a bull—now a breed of fixed characteristics. In the same way the breed we to-day call a "greyhound" has remained remarkably constant in type and, indeed, had its prototype all down the Ages—whether known as a "wind-hound," *vertagus*, *gaze-hound*, "Italian greyhound, harehound or tumbler"—the main characteristics being a smooth coat, clean, speedy, light limbs, a pointed muzzle and whip tail. But the actual written word "greyhound" has implied different breeds of dogs. The Celtic-Irish *greyhound* probably meant the *græ* or *grewhund*²—the hound of *græ*, or great degree; at other times "grey" undoubtedly referred to the prevailing colour of a particular breed, such as the *chien gris* of France, which was always much esteemed. Aristotle (who died 322 B.C.) was apparently the first to refer to the superiority of white-coloured hounds for hunting—possibly because they were easiest to see. Fawn—also called "lion coloured," or "sandy," i.e. the colour of the dingo—seems to have been the natural colour of many of the best hunting breeds, still designated lemon, badger-pie, hare-pie, etc., and constantly quoted to-day as representing "good old strains." Pure black was also famous in early times.

¹ For instance, the fashion for "Belvoir tan" some hundred years ago resulted in hundreds of light-coloured foxhounds being knocked on the head. Then came a fashion for big hounds, now for more lively, smaller, quicker fox catchers—with consequent repercussions throughout the foxhound world.

² See Plate IV and page 73 re the Celtic-Irish *græhound*.

The conclusion is that there was general appreciation of a good hound, regardless of colour and external characteristics all down the Ages, changing conditions alone, as to-day, influencing the selection of breeding strains.

IV

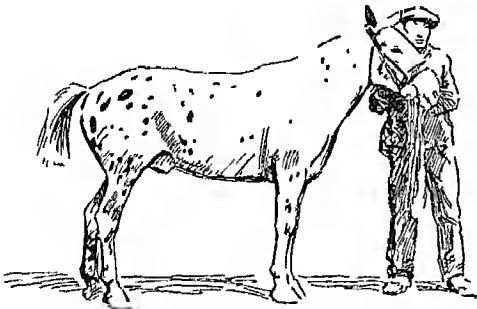
Without the development of the right type of horses there could have been no hunting such as we mean to-day by the term. We must skip all reference to prehistoric forebears and collaterals of the modern family of horses such as *Eohippus*, fifteen inches high, akin to the tapir as we know him, or three-toed *Hipparion* who trotted about North America as well as all over Europe, and even *Fliohippus* of Nebraska, such a truly aristocratic little fossil horse that he may be ancestral to the prehistoric Arabian of the Stone Age period. For centuries down the Ages horses had no part in hunting—except, perhaps, if we go back far enough into the mists of prehistory, and on the basis of evidence that bones of *equis primogens* have been found also among the other litter attendant on the Caveman's dining-room, suggest that the very early horse was at times himself the quarry! During the Quaternary period wild horses were abundant in Europe and definitely formed an important part of the food supply of Palæolithic man, as well as of various wild animals such as the hyena. True horses appeared in Europe in early Pleiocene times when *Hipparion* had gone to West Africa. There was an ancient prehistoric horse in South America, as proved by the finding of fossils, but it is equally certain that it died out before the coming of the Spaniards. The present Pampas horses are all descended from the Andalusian horses introduced by the Spaniards in 1535 when Buenos Aires was founded by Don Petro de Mendoza. In the same way, though North America can show some of the earliest known remains of the *Equidæ*, there were no horses there before Columbus arrived.

There is no doubt that early men and early horses inhabited much the same regions at the same time; both requiring good water, grasslands such as the ruminants love, and if possible shelter, such as hills, and safe places to which to retire in case of trouble from other men, or more probably from savage beasts. The first horse feared the same enemies as our own ancestors—hyenas, wolves, lions, and perhaps snakes. He early learnt to rely on swift hooves and a keen sense of smell and hearing; it is not for nothing that a foal can run as soon as it is born. These wild horses developed best on vast grassy plains and open upland country, where they had a chance to sight an enemy in time to save themselves by headlong flight—still the natural instinct of our domesticated horse when he sees or hears anything unusual.

From earliest times there seems to be evidence that there were two kinds of horses existing along with early man during later Palæolithic time in Europe, one large-headed, coarser-boned type, about fourteen hands high and the other small and lighter made. One theory—that of Professor Ridgeway, author of the *Origin of the Thoroughbred Horse*, is that these two ancient species in the course of domestication down the Ages became largely interbred and mingled, but their original characteristics can be distinguished very markedly even to-day as widely differing types: (1) the Northern Asiatic breed—marked by a prevalent dun colour, large common heads, hairiness, heavy jaws, coarse limbs, and low set on tails; and (2) the so-called “Arabian” or Eastern breed, whose original home Professor Ridgeway believes to have been Northern Africa, between the left bank of the Nile and the Atlantic, a territory which in late prehistorical times consisted of high grassy plains, and was a well-watered, limestone country, perfect for horse-breeding. It is at least certain that the horse developed later in this region has been used again and again in improving the breed of indigenous horses all over the world, and that its representatives can be traced, as we shall see, all down the Ages to its highest type to-day, the English “Blood Horse.” This prehistoric lighter type of horse may have first passed from Northern Africa into Europe at a period when there was either dry land in place of the Mediterranean, or anyhow a connecting bridge of high ground. It may be that in Northern Africa it developed on the lines of the quagga—the extinct half-donkey half-horse creature—probably at first being striped, then spotted and finally of a bay colour. It is significant that most of the breeds of horses whose origins can be traced down the Ages to some connection with “improvement” emanating from Northern Africa, have as their commonest colour bright bay, white feet or stockings and a white star—all valued marks of a good horse since the dawn of history. Moreover, bright bay horses with a strain of this “Arabian” blood still often show zebra-like markings as foals, spots on the flanks, and a dark line down their backs.

With regard to the colouring of horses, no doubt a good deal depends to-day on fashions—as, for instance, the prevalence in eighteenth-century Germany for curiously marked, spotted and piebald riding horses—fashionable also in Ancient China. But above the passing whims and dictates of fashion there are marked colour characteristics of various breeds which appear to depend on laws of genetics, so far only vaguely understood and very controversial. Professor Starling of London University has pointed out the fact that the northern white-skinned horses will

not survive in the tropics, where white-haired, black-skinned horses thrive much better—a fact equally true of cattle, pigs and dogs. It seems that all animals indigenous to the tropics have

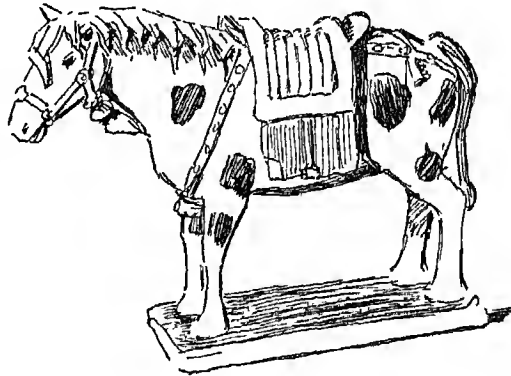


*Modern Chinese racing pony, 13 hands.
(From photo, 1911).*

black skins to evaporate internal heat, and a light coat to protect them against the sun's rays—also a protection against snow glare in the Arctic and high regions. So in the case of animals in the tropics that have to be abroad in daytime, Nature usually provides them with lighter coloured tawny or white hairs above

their black skin. True Arabian horses invariably have black skins. The oldest cave drawings of horses some hundred thousand years ago suggest a roan—which like a modern chestnut reflects heat in summer and conserves it in winter.

The latest authorities reject Professor Ridgeway's theory of two distinct species of ancestors for the modern horses and incline to the idea that all domesticated breeds have evolved from a single common source—which may well have been the smaller cave horse, for the larger cave type seems to have become extinct with the giant deer of Ireland in the 4th Glacial period, or at least not have appeared again until as the Great Horse of the Middle Ages.



*Chinese pony of K'ang-Msi, 1662-1722,
similarly marked.*

Undoubtedly, the smaller horse was very prevalent in the final Stone Age throughout the vast extent of country stretching between China and the Iberian Peninsula, for around a great camp of the later Stone Age at Solutr , in France, thousands of broken or entire skeletons of horses have been found mixed with the remains of the contemporary reindeer, wild ox and all the types of Aurignacian implements. These horses were the stocky "Northern Asiatic" type—about 13.1 high, their joints and feet

especially large and with great teeth and powerful jaws adapted for feeding on coarse grass. There is still no evidence that the men of Aurignacian times either bred or reared them; they pursued them only for food. (*Men of the Old Stone Age*, Professor Baldwin Brown.) Very small bits, made of bone and stag's horn, have been found in the lake dwellings of Switzerland of the *circa* early Bronze Age, and only three and a half inches wide, prove that even then the horse used was only a very small pony, similar, it is believed, in appearance to the cave horse as well as to the existing wild pony of Asia (the so-called Przewalski's horse) and the now-extinct Tarpan or native horse of Russia.

Professor Boyd Dawkins, in *Early Man in Britain*, gives the drawing of a horse's head carved on a fragment of a horse's rib which was found in an Old Stone Age cave of the Cresswell Crags in Derbyshire, but the actual use of the horse by man in the British Isles cannot be placed before the end of the Bronze or the beginning of the Iron Age—and the Celtic invasion. There is a commonly held view that the primeval horses of Britain whose bones are found in the caves became extinct, or possibly moved south with the contemporary Mankind, probably owing to the gradual pressure of the last great Ice Age, which is now believed to have pushed all moderate-warmth loving life that was anywhere mobile as far south as Northern Africa, whence it again spread northward as the glacial period slowly retracted—taking probably thousands of years in the process. It is probable that the "Arabian" type of horse developed somewhere in Asia—possibly in India or near the cradle of mankind—and was carefully bred by a race of people possibly represented to-day by the Bedouins of Northern Arabia, a country in past centuries still more suited than it is to-day to create a distinct type of horse fitted to withstand heat, cold, thirst, poor feed, and exposure—conditions somewhat similar to those found in Northern Africa. On account of the isolated and nomadic characteristics of these Bedouins all down the course of history, their type of horse has remained constant to itself more than that of other nations. On the other hand, we do not know yet where their horse actually originated. We are becoming dimly aware that the migration of Man from Asia is of extreme antiquity, and that nations rose and fell between the Tigris and Euphrates before the Babylonians were heard of.

How was the horse first domesticated? Though early cave drawings, as well as the debris from the kitchen, show him with the other animals hunted by man, what more probable than that foals were sometimes brought home by the hunters as pets for the children, in the same way that cats, dogs, and later domestic

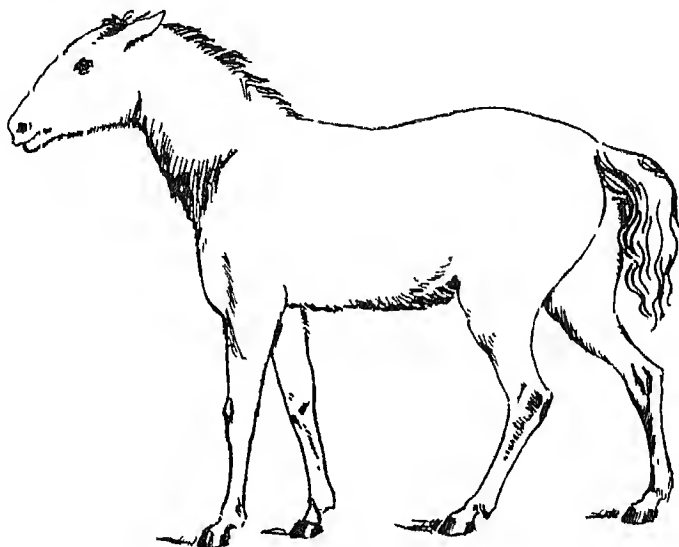
oxen and sheep, were to develop? It is not improbable that amongst Turko-Tartaric tribes in Asia the horse was first domesticated—not for locomotion, but like the ox amongst other races—for the sake of its milk and flesh; and that just as at a later stage the cow-keeping peoples began to use the ox to draw the plough and cart, so the Turko-Tartaric race began gradually to use their horses as a means of transport. The horse was ready to hand on all the vast plains of Upper Asia, where neither wild sheep, goats nor cattle were to be had. In other parts of the world, where there were indigenous sheep and cattle, the horse seems to have been domesticated at a much later date. One of the most interesting discoveries made by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur, is that the early Sumerians by 3000 B.C. had domesticated the local breed of Asiatic onager, a small donkey-like breed, which had always been regarded as untamable. This carries back the use of quadrupeds for draught purposes much earlier than had been supposed—the Egyptians at that date knew only the ass, and that solely as a beast of burden. Plate I, page 22, is a photograph of such an animal most interestingly portrayed as the "mascot" decorating the silver rein-ring on the chariot pole belonging to an early Sumerian queen some 5000 years ago. The Bible describes the wild ass:

"Who has sent out the wild ass free? or who has loosed the bands of the wild ass?
Whose house I have made in the Wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings.
He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver.
The range of the mountains is his pastime, and he searcheth after every green thing."—(Book of Job xxxix, 5-8)

In the opinion of Dr. Max Hilzheimer (in *Antiquity*, June, 1935) the domestication of the first horses of the wild "Asiatic type" took place towards the end of the Stone Age, probably in the plains adjoining the Black Sea, the "Arabian type" evolving by degrees and possibly in different localities, thanks to careful breeding, better food and suitable living conditions.

It is now generally accepted that before the dawn of recorded history—taken in its broadest sense—five species of wild horse had become scattered over the world, subject to man's control: (1) *Equus przewalskii*, the steppe horse of Central Asia, practically identical with the Old Stone Age pony in the caves of Europe—the red brown ancestor of the Mongolian, Korean and Japanese ponies of to-day; (2) *Equus tarpanus*, the tarpan, the dun-coloured Russian horse which had no callosities on the hind legs and was the origin of the ponies of the Huns, Tartars, Scythians and all the invading hordes of Asiatics that swept into Europe at

various times, perhaps remaining to-day in Norway and Britain as the Celtic pony; (3) *Equus robustus*, a stout "elk-nosed" type, slow and heavy, the "cold-blooded" horse of the lowlands of Europe and domesticated before the arrival of invaders from the South—possibly the ancestor of the Great Horse of the Middle Ages and the cart-horse of to-day; (4) the finer-limbed, active



The extinct Tarpan (from Jardine's "Naturalist's Library").

type called by Professor Ewart *Equus agilis*, the horse of the high, dry plains of Arabia and Africa, known as the "hot-blooded horse of the South," or more familiarly now as "the Arabian," but whose original cradle is still uncertain; and (5) the long-faced, tall *Equus sivalensis*, whose remains are found in India and descendants in the Kirghiz.

The wild horse was probably captured by early people with a lasso, and a head-stall made of plaited straw or leather may have been the first sort of bridle. It appears from early evidence that the "Asiatic" dun-pony always required some sort of bit, whereas the "Arabian" type, whether driven under the chariots of Egyptian Pharaohs, or ridden after the manner on an Etruscan vase of the Minoan-Ægean culture, or ridden by present-day Bedouins, has ever been a much more sensible and sensitive animal, controllable by the pressure of a simple nose-band only without any bit¹ in its mouth.

¹ Primitive bits found in Asia, Russia and Swiss lake dwellings consist of two side pieces and a cross-piece—a type later reintroduced into Europe by the Huns.

A curious fact is that the Northern Asiatic dun-pony shows no depression in the skull in front of the eye, whereas the "Arabian" type, whether from Africa or Asia, always shows a distinct and characteristic depression in front of the eye-socket to this day. Although it is unnecessary to discuss here the general characteristics of the *Equidæ*, or horse-like family, it is important to mention that all members of the horse tribe, i.e. asses, zebras, etc., included, have a bare patch of hardened skin on the inner side of the fore-legs, above the knee, but that in the Horse a smaller but similar callosity or "chestnut" appears on the hind legs below both hocks, which, however, is curiously lacking in certain ponies from Iceland and the Hebrides, and is always wanting in the donkey and zebra members of the family, as well as in the Arabian types. It is thought that these callosities are the remains of scent glands; they definitely are not the "extra toes," as sometimes stated. The true representative of the ancient "foot-pad" once owned by the fore-runners of the *Equidæ* is probably the "ergot," or small horny knob still projecting from beneath the fetlock joints to a more or less extent in most modern horses.¹

All the early people began by driving horses. At first it was thought that the reason might be that riding a horse was considered impossibly difficult, but it is most unlikely that people, such as the Assyrians who drove lion-hunting in their chariots, or the Britons who opposed Cæsar's landing with theirs, would have done so merely from fear of the horse! The most probable reason—supported by evidence from picture-writing, sculpture, legend, ancient tomb sites, buried cities, etc., all over the world—was that the first horses were definitely too small to carry the fully-accounted warrior of the day any distance.

The first incentive to the development of a better type of horse most certainly was War. The evolution of horses as an instrument of war depended first and foremost down the Ages on (1) a locality suitable to the existence of the horse itself, (2) its relative scarcity or the reverse, and (3) its adaptability to its environment in each district to which it was introduced. Such as the description in Virgil of:

"Bold Erichthonius first four coursers yok'd
And urged the chariot as the axle smok'd."

(*Georgics*, Book III.)

¹ Icelandic ponies to-day with elk-like noses, short broad-dished faces of the *robustus* type, representatives of the Elephant-bed and Solutré times, have four *ergots* and four *chestnuts*, the hind *chestnuts* being absent in typical Celtic and Arabian varieties.

a Trojan King of the thirteenth century B C, said to possess "3,000 mares which pastured along the marsh meadows, rejoicing in their tender foals" and to have been the "richest of mortal men."

The construction and use of chariots imply not only the existence of level surfaces—open country, plains, steppes, etc., perhaps of actual roads as in Britain when Cæsar first called—but also a considerable degree of experience and skill on the part of both designers and drivers. It is likely that men did not at first fight in chariots, using them as conveyances to the battle-field. The charioteer drove the armed man to the place of battle and hung about to pick him up again, help him in defeat, remove him if wounded, or perhaps if in the pursuit of a fleeing enemy scythes were added to the wheels and shock action used; the whole of Classical and Oriental mythologies, together with the earliest monuments, etc., of Egypt, Assyria and India are convincing on this point. It is a fact that none of the horses of this date, whether drawn, painted or sculptured, are capable of carrying on their backs the armed men of the period; and all the early allusions to the use of the horse in battle suggest him as a draught animal. Even the beautiful description of the war-horse so relatively late as the Book of Job in the Bible applies equally well to a horse, whether ridden or driven:

"Hast thou given the horse strength?
Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?
Canst thou make him afraid like a grasshopper?
The glory of his nostrils is terrible
He paweth in the valley and rejoiceth in his strength.
He goeth on to meet the armed men.
He mocketh at fear and is not affrighted;
Neither turneth he back from the word.
The quiver rattleth against him,
The glittering spear and the shield
He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;
Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha,
And he smelleth the battle afar off,
The thunder of the Captains and the shouting"

(Book of Job xxxix, 19-25)

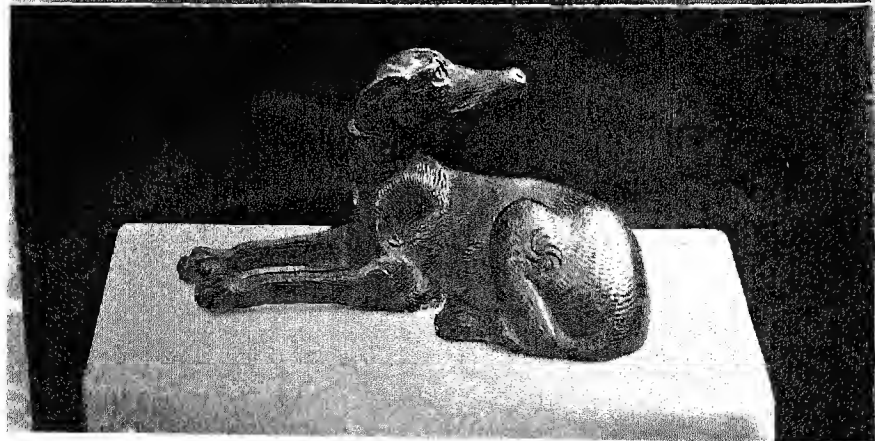
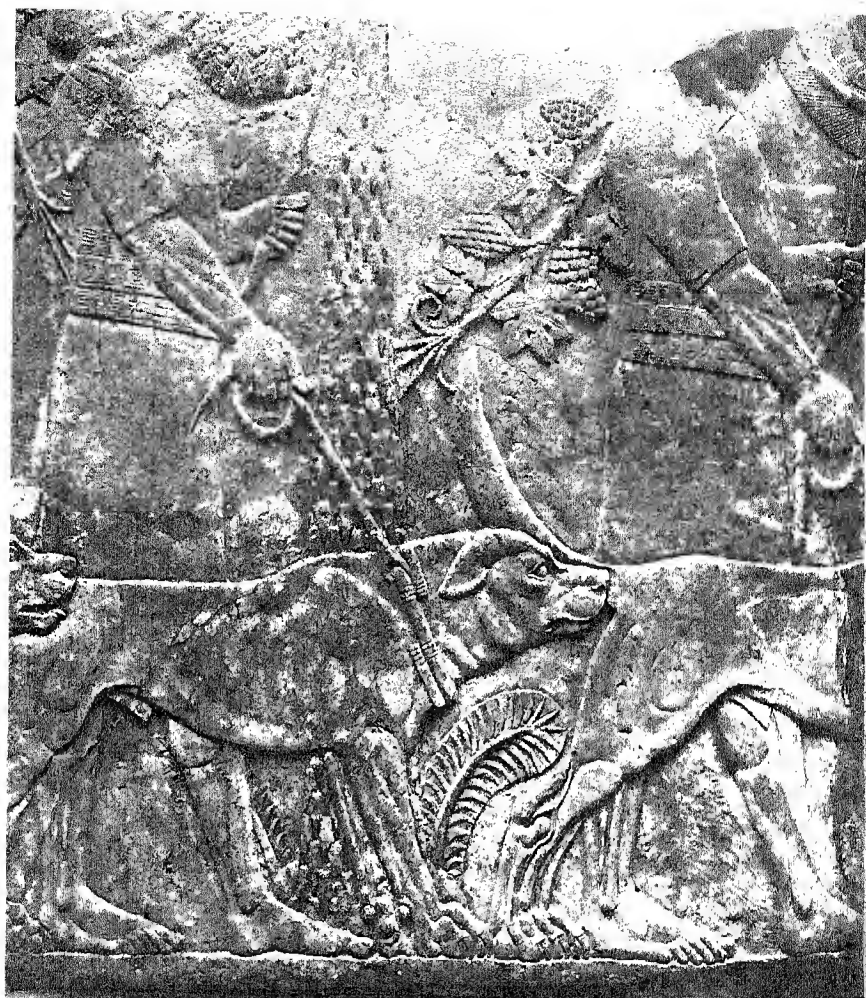
The earliest reference to horses in the Bible is in the thirty-second chapter of Genesis—about the time of Jacob or the seventeenth century B C. It is thought to have been between 1715 and 1689 B C. that Joseph came into power and "rode in the second chariot." David was the first King of Israel to have cavalry chariots for his armies, and Solomon not only added to

*Assyrian chariot and horses.
Assurbanipal hunting wild oxen and lions.
(6th century B.C.)*

(British Museum)







these in number, but he also made roads suitable for chariots between Jerusalem and Egypt.

It is generally admitted that in the latter half of the fifth millennium before the birth of Christ the curtain really goes up on history, and we see in Egypt the first stages of organised social life. But for many hundreds of years there was no mention or reference to a horse—not till the reign of Aahmes I—a king of the 17th dynasty and the expeller of the Hyksos about 1587-62 B.C. The Hyksos, probably Aryan or Indo-European invaders, possibly Scythians, are believed to have introduced horses to Egypt, but this cannot be proved—though horses were undoubtedly introduced during the dark ages of Egypt, between the Middle and New Empire, when the Pyramids were built. Professor Ridgeway thought it probable that the Egyptians borrowed the horse from a neighbouring people—"Six hundred chosen chariots" being sent after the Israelites (Exod. xiv, 7), suggesting Libya in Northern Africa as breeding this type of war-horse. Recently, however, fresh archaeological finds have tended to trace the "Libyan Arabian" to the Hittites, Indo-European people who made their way into Northern Palestine during the dawn of recorded history and who ruled Asia Minor perhaps throughout the second millennium B.C. (*The Horse of the Desert*, W. B. Brown, 1929.) The fact emerges that the Hittites appear early as great and skilful horse-masters, who were riders as well as drivers—possibly the original "centaurs," those wise men remembered in Greek mythology as half-men, half-horses, the first riders of whom they had heard.

The Libyans undoubtedly had chariots before the dawn of written history; a chariot with nine-spoked wheels having been found in a tomb at Thebes not of Egyptian origin. Built entirely of wood, joined with pegs or studs of bone, it was a very strong and light vehicle, suited to the plains of Libya, but not to a rocky or mountainous country. Egyptian chariots generally had six spokes, as in the photograph Plate II, p. 23.

In support of this theory of Libyan origin there is a picture in the British Museum, seventh century B.C., i.e. at least a thousand years later than the use of driven chariots—of a *Libyan woman riding* a well-bred dark-coloured horse, whose tail is set on like a typical "high-caste Arabian" of to-day; her hound runs beside her and a falcon flies behind. There was also a fable in Greek mythology about "horse-riding Libyan women," and surely further proof that the traditional birth-place of the famous Pegasus was the Libyan Desert. As in the Egyptian paintings of the New Empire, so also in the sixth century B.C. this high-set-on tail, as well as

(Top picture) *Assyrian lionhounds and whippers-in.*

(British Museum)

(Lower) *Roman bronze (late fourth century) of Celtic wolfhound, found at Lydney, Glos.*

(By permission Viscount Bledisloe.)

the dark colour—two features of the best breed of "Arabian" to-day—characterised North African horses at this early date.

Chariots and horses undoubtedly for centuries corresponded to the tanks and mechanised guns of to-day. The description of "Pharaoh and all his hosts" in the Old Testament gives us an idea of the awe with which horses and chariots were regarded by a weaker people, and of the reason why they looked on mountainous country as Holy Land or "sanctuary."

" The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold."

The Assyrian chariot was stronger than the Egyptian and held three men—the wheels were discs and the pole came from the dashboard. Assyrian horses were never shod. When Deborah rejoiced over the death of Sisera and the winning of the battle she especially mentions an important point: "Then were the horse hooves broken by the means of the prancings, the prancings of their mighty ones," as much later Isaiah wrote: "Their horses' hooves shall be counted like flint." The Assyrians of about 600 B.C. were excellent riders, but not before the ninth century B.C. had mounted men appeared on Assyrian reliefs. The prophet Ezekiel refers to their being "clothed in blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men riding upon horses."

Everyone should see the magnificent bas-reliefs of Assurbanipal in the British Museum. I do not know which is the most interesting—the horses, hounds, lions, the muscular power of the archers, or the artistic and faithful reproduction of the hunting scenes. Has the "wounded lioness" ever been bettered? Assurbanipal hunted over the great plains of his vast empire, sometimes on a horse, sometimes shooting from a chariot the wild animals which were "parked" to wait his coming. See Plate III.

It is probable that the best Assyrian horses had in their veins some of the blood from which both the finest Arabian and our modern blood-horse are derived, but for the most part they were of the Northern Asiatic type and peacocky in appearance. At a very much later date Assyrian blood passed into Turkey and Palestine, thence possibly reaching England in the form of "Turks" and "Arabs" imported in Tudor and Stuart times, as we shall note in Chapter XI.

Bits and bridles seen on the Assyrian reliefs were much like some we use to-day, the horses' tails were left uncut, but were carefully braided halfway down. The horses had no traces when harnessed into a chariot, but a centre pole was fastened to their

collars by which they pulled it along, as can still be seen on the plain of Hungary. On ceremonial occasions Assyrian horses wore a lot of extra finery, cockades, toppings, etc., but on active service, or while taking part in a lion hunt, they had quite plain harness. Horses were the pride and glory and strength of the powerful men; for the transport of ordinary people there were the donkey, the ox, and the camel. For certainly a thousand years in Egypt the ass was only a beast of burden and never ridden. The sun-disc which ornamented Egyptian horses' harness—a symbol found in prehistoric times, in Indian art and the East—is still seen to-day on our cart-horses.



Scottish cart-horse harness
to-day, with "brasses" of
sun and moon designs.

It seems that the pre-Hellenic people of the Minoan Age, to whom the world owes so much of the virtues of civilisation, were great horse-masters, and may possibly have been one of those who developed the "Arabian type" of better-bred horse.

Helen of Troy and the wooden horse and King Minos of Crete and the Minotaur are probably the most popular Greek stories. For centuries they remained legends, until in 1900 a German grocer, Schliemann, set out on what was thought a fool's errand—to discover the site of Troy—succeeded, and was followed by Evans who unearthed the palace of King Minos in Crete—instituting a new proof of pre-Hellenic civilisations, called variously Mycenæan, Minoan, Mediterranean and Cretan.

In Homeric poems there are constant references to horses. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* present us with the immortal stories about the fair-haired Achæans, who in the Early Iron Age mastered Upper Greece and turned out the Minoan civilisation. Take, for instance, the account of the chariot race at the funeral rites of Patroclus as described in the *Iliad* and translated by Pope:

"High on his car he shakes the flowing reins:
His fiery coursers thunder o'er the plains.

The coursers fly before Ulysses' bow,
Swift as the wind and white as winter's snow."

And in the *Odyssey* :

" Ranged in a line the ready racers stand,
Start from the goal and vanish o'er the strand ;
Swift as on wings of wind, upborne they fly,
And drifts of rising dust involve the sky "

And read the account of the chariot race in Sophocles' *Electra*.

The Greek warrior undoubtedly went into battle in a two-horse chariot with his charioteer beside him, as was the practice of the Celts and Gauls down to 100 B.C. From descriptions of Greek horses and their colour so often referred to as *xanthos* or "golden-haired," we can infer that the majority were as other early Celtic horses, dun-coloured, like the typical Norwegian pony of to-day—that is, at first they were of the "Northern Asiatic" type of horse, not of the "Arabian" type, though probably they received a cross of this blood later. This probably is supported by the fact that among Homeric names for horses are *Aethe*, i.e. "blazed," and Achilles' famous *Bahos*, or the Bald who was said to be bred by the West Wind out of the harpy Swift Foot ; such white-faced horses being much admired by the Greeks and being evidence of a new infusion of better blood. White and black horses are likewise mentioned as highly prized—and these colours come from a first cross of the "Arabian type" on "Asiatic" breeds.

There is no doubt that the Greece known to us as Classical or Hellenist Greece received much influence from older civilisations. Starting as rude barbaric tribes from Northern Central Europe, they assimilated culture wherever they found it—Egyptian, Minoan, Phœnician and developed into the most glorious race of artists the world has ever known. Siberian antiquities collected by Peter the Great show that Hellenic artists worked for the Scythians, those almost unknown nomadic people who appreciated good horses and liked to see them portrayed in gold and silver on their sword-hilts, drinking cups, bracelets, etc.

And here those interested in the Horse in Art should note how the Egyptian artists all used the same conventional phase to portray galloping horses—a prancing action which is part of the movement of a horse jumping—probably being selected as emblematic of a triumphant monarch surmounting every obstacle. But whatever the origin, this position was accepted as symbolic of the galloping horse by artists for more than thirty centuries and was used with only slight modifications by the Greeks, Romans and Byzantines down to a period 150 years ago, when the stretched-out impossible attitude so well known in old sporting prints took its place as portraying speed. (This rocking-horse attitude of "the flying gallop" was first seen in Minoan Art, in Persia and China ; it

came to Europe, and particularly to our seventeenth-eighteenth century sporting artists, from China, with tea and other household treasures, which started a positive vogue for all things Chinese.)¹ The high-speed camera, and still more the cinema, have proved exactly what the actions of a horse really are in all its movements, with surprising results, not the least of these perhaps being that some of the sketches of Early Man are a deal closer to the real thing than the best efforts of Greece!

Xenophon, the great Greek soldier-scholar of the sixth century B.C. whom we will meet in the next chapter, is the first from whom we have detailed evidence as to the use of the riding horse in war. In his time we can gather that the horse was still too rare and riding too difficult an accomplishment to be of general use, and cavalry of little avail against companies of well-trained and heavily armed hoplites.

Horses that could be ridden turned up in the early Iron Age with Celtic tribes in the Danube region at least by 300 B.C.; they had obtained the bigger, better horses of Northern Africa. The Gauls were great horse breeders and are known at various times to have imported stallions "from the South"; horsemen appeared on many of their early coins. It would appear that though Hannibal defeated the Gallic horsemen with his Numidian (North African) cavalry in 218 B.C., by the time of Cæsar the Gauls, by importing the "Arabian" type, had so much improved their native breeds that chariots had been entirely discarded by the Belgic Gauls. Whereas their relations across the Channel—the British—still used chariots with their cavalry; while the original tribes further inland, who had only very small horses, seem to have used only chariots. Thus the Gauls found by Cæsar in France had become essentially a nation of horsemen.

It is a significant fact that among the old Germanic tribes encountered by Cæsar, white horses early became highly prized and of religious significance. Professor Ridgeway points out that the first crossing of horses of the "Arabian type" with the "Northern Asiatic dun type" seems to result in whites and greys—"colours" certainly prized from a very early time in Northern Europe. The white-horse county emblem of Kent is about as old as the English themselves—like the white horse cut in Berkshire downlands. Hengist and Horsa meant "Stallion" and "Mare." The ancient white-horse symbol of Hanover suggested life eternal springing from the ground. Fearful orgies connected with the sacrifices of horses are known to have been part of the rites of Germanic and Nordic tribes around the North Sea basin. Horse skulls have

¹ Compare Plates II, III, V and XXII

been discovered buried in the walls and under the foundations of ancient English churches, possibly the "foundation sacrifice" of the sacred horse. (*Byways in British Archæology*, W. Johnson.)

In centuries of careful rule the Romans greatly developed the Horse as a means of conveyance. On principle, wherever they went, acting on the accumulated knowledge of Greece and Egypt, they assimilated all that was best of what had gone before and so proceeded to improve the various breeds of native ponies they found in Europe, Asia and Africa by careful selection and crosses. In this country archæologists have found evidence of an "Arabian type" skull near York, suggesting that this breed was early introduced, possibly for the sport of chariot racing. In the later days of the Empire horses for chariot races in the great amphitheatres were as valuable and sought after as any thoroughbred racehorse of to-day; but in the early days they were developed as in other countries before and since for use in war. But it would not be at all right to infer from this that the Romans ever thought to employ great hordes of cavalry—such as did the Tartars who one day would sweep out of Asia to the alarm of all Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. Occasionally, great leaders—like Alexander, Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, for instance, succeeded in riding down their opponents; but in the main, Roman cavalry and auxiliaries were used as scouts and skirmishers far on the flanks of the army. The Roman infantry were so superbly disciplined, and armed, that native horsemen of the day in hand-to-hand combat would have been easily pulled off their ponies.

Primitive people, depending on hunting down their meals or running away from stronger foes, are always good at throwing stones and other missiles—an art which more civilised people quickly forget. Thus, as the Romans penetrated further and further among the barbarians, their horsemen would find ever-increasing need for protection, i.e. armour. Armed men are heavy to carry, and need better and better horses; and thus was created the necessity for better bred types. Weight-carrying horses were as difficult to breed then and relatively as expensive as they are to-day. The greater the weight the greater demand on the horse, which factor, of course, in time resulted inexorably in the heavy cavalry becoming too heavy to gallop and the light being not good enough for united action—a stage which recurs again and again in the history of cavalry. As the Roman Empire began to lose its hold on the frontiers, light and well-mounted tribesmen from Asia did much as they pleased. With the decay of the Empire discipline also disappeared, and as discipline consists essentially in the spirit of self-sacrifice for the good of the cause, its opposite—self-preservation—became the guiding

principle. At the worst this new turn led ultimately to the development of still more heavily-armed horsemen—the Teutonic *caballiere*, or “knights,” who were to remain the strongest things in Europe for many a long day all through the Middle Ages, being only shaken by the English long-bow and finally overthrown from pride of place by the invention of gunpowder.

The first point emerges that without the care bestowed all down these Ages on breeding suitable horses for purposes of defence and offence, there would have been little likelihood of developing a type of horse on which to go hunting to-day, out of the primeval ponies trotting about the grassy plains of Europe, Asia and Africa, hunted by men with stone-tipped spears and the prey of fierce prowling beasts. Secondly, we see that a clear eye, quick decision of mind, a fit body, skill and judgment were as necessary then to the first horsemen as they are to the hunting person of to-day, and have been all down the Ages. Thirdly, the horse with stamina, breeding, speed and courage has ever proved the best of his kind. Gentle reader, when next your hunter shies unexpectedly at a heap of stones, a patch of bright sunlight or his shadow, do not think to hit him for foolishness—remember, he has still some instinct that a hyena or a great wolf or a lion or a man might leap at him for food. And to horses were largely due such world-shaking changes as the overthrow of Rome, the spread of Islam, the winning of the Battle of Hastings—Wellington’s cavalry were instrumental in beating Napoleon as Allenby’s were in defeating the Turks in Palestine (1914-18).

CHAPTER II

XENOPHON AND THE GREEK IDEALS

"The first pursuit that a young man just out of boyhood should take up is hunting and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has the means."

XENOPHON.

I

THE IDEAS OF CLASSIC GREECE HAVE MADE A PROFOUND impression on the whole of the civilized world, but probably on no people more than the so-called Anglo-Saxon race. Aristocratic opinion in Rome was largely based on ideals of Greece—much perhaps as to-day opinion in the Dominions may be said to be influenced by the traditions of this country. From Rome to us came these ideals, directly through contact with legionary rule and indirectly at the Norman Conquest and again at the Renaissance—French thought ever being founded on ideas of Imperial Rome.

I select Xenophon for the purpose of giving some idea of the attitude of the Hellenist Greeks towards hunting and riding because though probably there were lots of other Greeks very much like him during his life-time and before and after, but with the difference that Xenophon liked jotting down his thoughts and feelings on many subjects, so that his life and times come vividly before us and often in very modern guise. Among his writings were short books on horsemanship and hunting for the young people of his day! They are the oldest books on these subjects known to us; and it is interesting that much of what Xenophon wrote two thousand four hundred and fifty years ago is in accordance with the most advanced views of to-day on Hunting and Equitation. Not only was he a writer, but what is rare among authors, he was also a man of action himself.

Xenophon lived about 530–500 B.C. Thus he was contemporary with Plato, Euclid, Alcibiades and other famous Athenians—such as the great Socrates, whose pupil he was. He was an example of the best type of Hellenic Greek—high-minded, able, conscientious, deeply religious, with a sense of humour and very good looking withal—and in politics, as in his life, so careful of

tradition and the preservation of all that was best in his times that nowadays he would probably be labelled "die-hard." Intensely disliking the government of his native city of Athens—which had put Socrates to death—he cut away from things he could not alter and people who would not listen to him, and at the suggestion of his friend Agesilaus, King of Sparta, took service as a soldier with the young Persian Cyrus who was then raising an army. Fitting himself to defend his country, and learning how to bear arms, according to Hellenic Greeks were the finest things that a young man could do. Moreover, about this time there was a growing feeling for overseas adventure, a growth founded on the glorious traditions of Homer, Odysseus, Theseus and the Golden Fleece, etc., which would ultimately mature into the expeditions of Alexander the Great.

Xenophon and the twelve thousand other Greeks who joined Cyrus the Persian on what they understood was a "freebooting" expedition among the adjacent barbarian provinces, eventually discovered that they were committed to nothing less than the dethronement of the reigning King of Persia in favour of the twenty-one-year-old Cyrus. Greek mercenaries were the finest fighting force in the world of that time, so that in spite of tremendous odds against such an enterprise the army of Cyrus came within sight of success. At the victorious Battle of Cunaxa near Babylon, the Persian army was entirely defeated and the way was open, but Cyrus himself was killed. Thus his Greek allies in the hour of victory found themselves stranded in a hostile country, two thousand miles from home, without generals and surrounded by enemies—a hazardous position for even the best-disciplined troops, totally ignorant as they were of geography (except for the belief that if they went on long enough in the direction of the setting sun they would some day reach the sea!).

The romantic story of the "Anabasis," or the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, is too long to tell here; how their senior officers were treacherously murdered by the Persians and how they fought their way over the high Taurus mountains, the uplands of Armenia, through bitter snow and burning desert, attacked by the wild Kurds, starving and thirsting, but eventually accomplished the impossible by returning six thousand men to their homes. "Not so much the fighting, as the courage of the march and the sense of discipline make this one of the finest exploits in Greek History," as Professor J. C. Stobart says in *The Glory that was Greece*. Xenophon, being one of their most trusted and successful leaders on the retreat, ranks with the greatest soldiers of all time; consequently his writings had value for his own generation and interest for us.

After his return he bought a "sporting estate" near Olympia

and retired, like many a colonel and general after him, to hunt and farm. Xenophon's life there is described by Professor Stobart as

" a picture of the retired sporting colonel of religious and aristocratic tendencies. . . . He regards his estate as a stewardship for the goddess Artemis . . . he builds her a shrine, an altar with a statue of cypress-wood modelled on the temple and statue at Ephesus. . . . Hard by was a river full of fish, and an orchard, with pasture lands and upland game preserves, abounding in wild boar, gazelles and deer. Every year he gave a sacrifice to the goddess and invited his neighbours to the feast. There would be barley porridge, wheaten loaves and sweetmeats. Game had previously been supplied by a day's hunting on a large scale, in which Xenophon's sons conducted the operations and all the neighbours took part if they liked." (*The Glory that was Greece*, J. C. Stobart.)

Probably Xenophon collected the little sets of notes on Hunting and Riding already mentioned for the sake of his two sons. Maybe, he wrote them in the evening after a good day's sport, with the boys stretched out on skins at his feet, a roaring fire in the great fire-place of the comfortable Greek country house of the day—built like a Canadian ranch-house to-day of logs, well laid and smoothed inside, hung with tapestries and perhaps " trophies of the chase." Outside, probably, the walls were covered with ivy and myrtle, while close by would be the stables, as Xenophon in his book particularly counsels the owner to have his horses within view—quoting the well-known Greek proverb: " the eye of the master makes the horse fat." Mr. L. V. Jacks in *Xenophon, Soldier of Fortune*, says: " In the wilder upland country of Xenophon's estate were the deer, hares and wild boar that gave him the active exercise he craved as much as many of us do nowadays, while he settled down to cultivate the farm-land proper, and at leisurely intervals to write the books which have carried his name down twenty-three centuries."

" The practical advantages of hunting," wrote Xenophon, " are many. It makes the body healthy, improves the sight, and the hearing and keeps men from growing old. It affords the best training for war. For men who are sound in mind and body stand always on the threshold of success." As useful advice to us as to the young men of his own times.

Xenophon was said to have had curly dark hair, hazel eyes, and to have been most attractive looking. Certainly in his writing one gets the impression of someone graceful in mind and body, always of good taste and judgment, typical of the Greek ideal, trying to excel without specialisation. As Mr. L. V. Jacks points out: " Xenophon's strongest claim to attention lies in this, that without being a genius, he achieved greatness in many fields with-

out possessing that superlatively hard, inquiring mind which cuts like a diamond through all it touches and spells genius in its workings ; he developed the powers he did possess until his works bear evidence of an acute and wonderfully receptive brain." All his life holding himself in a soldier's discipline Xenophon developed the best within himself under the philosophy that "all things are possible if the mortal gods will give their consent" ; he justified his title, "the highest type of the Periclean education." So much for his story. Though twenty-three centuries divide us from "the glories that were Greece," from Xenophon we get a fair idea of what hunting and riding were like about 500 B.C.—long before the days that "spendthrift" and "horseowner" would be represented by the same Greek word.

II

When an ordinary young Greek of the fourth century B.C. said he was going hunting, he meant that he was going to chase hares on foot with hounds, and if it were possible drive them into nets specially placed to catch them ; the hounds being only encouraged to hunt, not to kill.

Hare-hunting has ever been considered one of the finest field sports, judged from the point of view of the person really keen on hound work. Hare-hunting is an art and a science in which many prominent Masters of hounds all down the Ages have been proud to graduate. It is claimed to be the most difficult of all hunting as a real test of a huntsman's qualities.

Hunting was much recommended to young people by Xenophon as an exercise for hardening and strengthening the body. Depending on a citizen army it was, of course, natural that Greek statesmen should desire each individual to keep himself hard and fit. Sparta punished young men who had not hunted at least once before the Festival of Artemis by dousing them with cold water at the banquet ! Hunting was so much encouraged that poaching by night was forbidden and hunting was allowed—even when the city of Athens was short of food. To our ideas there was an element of poaching in the whole affair. Greek hunting was mainly a pot-filling business ; the wild animal was hunted with a view (*a*) to kill it for food, (*b*) to drive it away or prevent it from destroying crops, lambs, etc. Sport was not yet born.

Two definite breeds of hounds are mentioned by Xenophon—the Castorian being the larger and said to have been founded by the god Castor, and the Vulpine reputed to have been a cross between dog and fox. Xenophon himself preferred the Castorian hound for reasons that are strikingly sound. Most hound breeders to-day will agree with their prototype of over two thousand years

ago who found how "hounds of the same breed vary much in hunting . . . some go ahead as soon as they hit off the line without giving a sign . . . some move the ears only, but keep the stern still, others prick up the ears and run frowning along the line, dropping their sterns; many rush about madly round the line and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the trace, speaking all the time. Others again continually casting and straying, get ahead of the line . . . and begin guessing. . . . Hounds that run forward and frequently examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about and hunting have no confidence in themselves; whilst those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines¹ and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well knowing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. . . . Some again will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off through lack of courage; others will cut in ahead and go astray; while others foolishly dash on to roads and get lost, deaf to all recall. Many abandon the hunt and go back through their dislike of the sport, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by speaking to a false line. Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work while they are running when they hear another hound open elsewhere and make for it recklessly. . . . Then there are the skitters, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about beside the line. Most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training." The language is a little unusual to us but anyone who has ever hunted beagles or started a scratch pack in a rough country will agree that hound nature has not changed much down the centuries.

It is difficult to know what Greek hounds looked like. The sarcophagus of Alexander the Great—much later—shows a hound with prick ears on a leash, possibly a Vulpine, and a flop-eared hound more of the Saluki type, possibly the bigger Castorian. Xenophon liked his hounds to

"be big . . . heads light, narrow and muscular; eyes prominent, black and sparkling; forehead broad with deep dividing line; ears small and fine with little hair behind; necks long, round and loose-skinned . . . chest broad and fairly deep through, shoulder-blades well defined and slightly outstanding; front legs short, straight, round and firm, and elbows straight; good, well-sprung ribs and well-rounded backs . . . sterns long, straight and fine, wide rounded hips

¹ Xenophon used the same Greek word for hunting by scent and tracking the trail by sight which is curiously modern. See Mr Budget's *Hunting by Scent* (1934).

with thighs well muscled and hind legs well let down and longer than the forelegs, feet round. . . . Hounds built like this will be strong and active, well proportioned and fast, and they will have a jaunty expression and throw a good tongue. They should hunt untiringly, giving tongue and speaking freely, hunting the hare's line wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting themselves and giving tongue in the right fashion; and they should never leave the line or return to the huntsman. Along with this appearance and behaviour they should have courage, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. . . . Small hounds often drop out of the running through want of size."¹

All of which is interesting to compare with Lord Bathurst's description of a modern foxhound: "A beautiful neck and shoulders are indispensable, likewise ribs and substance, so difficult to combine with the necessary neck and shoulders and in addition power behind is required, necessitating muscular quarters and loins and a good hind leg—the latter so often disregarded . . . easy to breed small or weedy hounds who are sharp and quick and do their work admirably but very difficult to keep up size, bone and appearance with hounds who can give real satisfaction in the way they hunt their fox." (*The Breeding of Foxhounds*, Earl Bathurst.)

Regarding colour, Xenophon wrote: "They should not be entirely tawny, black or white, for this is not a sign of good breeding; on the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain"—presumably back to the wolf or dingo type. He added that "tawny and black hounds should always show a patch of white about the face and white hounds a tawny patch"—so that Greek hounds had more of a modern appearance than one might think. Many people regard tan, white and lemon as of quite recent origin.

Xenophon gave his hounds short names "so as to be able to call them easily." Some of his names have been used for hounds all down the Ages and are still in Kennel Stud-Books to-day—such as Hebe, Psyche, Hasty (*Sperchon*), Crafty (*Medas*), Counsellor (*Noēs*), Vigorous (*Thallon*) and Blueskin (*Aenas*)—all being Greek disyllables and significant of "the colour, character or goodness of the hounds."

The Greeks hunted all the year round; there was no close season; though with regard to hunting leverets Xenophon wrote:

¹ For this and most other quotations direct from Xenophon I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Marchant's translation from the Greek of *Scripta Minora*, but I hope that the learned writer will not object that I have altered the very obvious meaning of his words into others more in accord with those of the hunting field and equitation.

"Sportsmen leave the very young to the goddess"—i.e. Artemis the Huntress. The custom was to start off hunting early in the morning—before dawn in summer time and at sunrise in the winter. Xenophon warned that "there is no scent in the early morning when there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard," believing the reason to be that hounds' noses were numb from cold. He said: "Hounds should not be taken out hunting when there is a strong wind blowing"—thus anticipating Beckford by hundreds of years!

Greek hunters were "clad in simple light tunics" and each carried stout sticks for hitting the hare over the head. Nets were pegged out very early in the morning in likely places. On arriving at the "meet" everyone had to keep quiet, so as not to disturb hares in the neighbourhood. The hounds were tied up to trees while the remaining nets were set. The huntsman then drew the most suitable ground with the steadiest and best hound, and as soon as that hound picked up the cold line or drag of the hare the next best was loosed and then another and another, as they settled down, till they all worked up to the hare. She is likely to sit tight till the last moment, but will be sure to bounce off just before the leading hounds get to her. The huntsman cheers on the hounds in Greek for "Well done! Bravo Hounds! Well done Hounds! Now Hounds! Now! Now! Now!"

Maybe puss will be caught in the nets on her first rush, but more likely the followers will have a long run after the hounds. Probably, as is the custom of hares all down the Ages and in all countries, she will double back to where she was found. Xenophon clearly shows that in his time the hunt was the main object, "until he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the nets."

The Greek huntsman was told to constantly "encourage hounds, cheering them on by name, pitching his voice now high now low, and should follow without pressing hounds or they may overrun the line through excess of zeal." If the hunt was in hill country, he was to sing out: "Oho hounds! Oho!" If they overran the line he was to say: "Back hounds! Back with you!" One curious custom was that at a check the huntsman stuck a stick in the ground at the spot where hounds last owned the line and then made a cast round the stick—an early sort of "Tom Smith"! Anyone thrown out of a hunt was to say: "Hullo! Have you seen the hounds?" "When hunting on cultivated land, avoid growing crops" is no new dictum!

It is interesting that a tradition current during the Middle Ages, and mentioned by several old writers, referred a strain of highly prized "scenting hounds" used in Brittany and Britain that were white, smooth-coated, fast and of great stamina, to a

Greek origin. The story is (told by Aldrovandus and referred to in the Elizabethan translation of Du Fouilloux's famous *Venerie*) that after the fall of Troy Æneas arrived in Italy with his son, whose son Sylvius had a son Brutus who was very fond of hunting and kept a lot of hounds. By inadvertence the latter killed his father Sylvius, so "fled with some nobles and his hounds to the Armorican Islands, now called Bretagne, from Brutus—Brutagne." This explanation of the origin of Britain and Brittany may not be accepted, but Lord Bathurst in his *Breeding of Foxhounds* considers that there may be some foundations for connecting British hounds with a Southern origin. It is an undoubted fact that long before the dawn of written history white hounds were famous in legend, folk-lore and song in both Brittany and Britain,

III

The Greeks also hunted deer, and wild boar, when in suitable country, and it is probable that on such occasions important gentlemen rode, anyhow during part of the day. Much the same procedure was gone through as with hare-hunting, but in addition to nets, small traps were scattered about in likely run-ways in which the hopes that the hunted animal would catch its foot and thus be slowed down sufficiently to enable the hunters to catch up, and eventually kill it with their javelins or short spears. The Greek idea of hunting fell short of much which at a later date would be called sporting! (Little chance was given to a hunted animal before the elaborate days of Chivalry, when food had become more plentiful and game scarcer.)

Xenophon himself appears to have liked hunting the red deer best of all and to have used "Indian" hounds for the purpose, which probably came from Tibet; he says they were "strong, big, speedy and plucky." There were no close seasons, the fawns being considered a great luxury and good fun to hunt. In the Middle Ages there was a breed of strong, fierce hound known as the Molassian or Molossus, which traditionally had come from Greece, Epirus and Hircani, and was probably of Indian or Persian origin.

Wild boar hunting required then, as always, staunch hounds that would "go in to fight the beast," and "men must be very wary not to get hurt." Everything used had to be extra stout—nets must be very strong, "javelins and spears of the best as for a soldier." All down the Ages boar-hunting has been no sport for the coward or the weakling. A wild pig goes away without notice, and woe betide anyone with nervous aim, inexperience, over-confidence or a slow working mind. Always, big, old boars were

much feared and disliked on account of the damage they do to the crops in simple agricultural communities, such as Ancient Greece. Probably notice would come in about the depredations in a certain district and a party would be organised to deal with the menace.

On arriving at the place a single hound is slipped. "Tracks may be found—little ones, or great, monstrous fat ones, torn-up undergrowth betokening the passing of a big body, trampled ground, and if of a boar the marks where he sharpens his tusks will be found on the trees." Usually an old boar is located in a well-wooded place—warm lie in winter and cool in summer. Generally he is not roused at once, so after making quite sure that he is there by ring-walking, or making a cast round a wide circle with the single scenting-hound, the nets are set in the most likely places where the boar will go away. When all are in position the strong dogs are loosed and the party advances in a long line, leaving plenty of room for the boar to pass between them if he charges. Dogs go for a wild boar readily; probably he will get up with a rush, throwing any hound out of the way that attacks him and certainly maiming it badly, even if not killing it outright (Boar-hunting is always terribly hard on hounds; the best get grievously hurt). The wild pig in its blind charge may then get caught up in one of the nets; otherwise it must be pursued. Even when in the net it was not easy for men on foot armed only with javelins or short spears to kill it. Only the most experienced boar-hunter should try to give "first spear," for, as Xenophon says, "the boar may knock the spear out of a weak man's hand. Should a man fall, the best thing to do is to lie face downwards clutching the ground tightly so that the boar cannot get his tusks underneath to toss or gore him, while the other hunters come to his rescue by enticing the boar away to attack them instead . . . if you are knocked down by a boar or a sow you will be trampled on and perhaps bitten."

Xenophon did not exaggerate the dangers. Adonis was slain traditionally by a wild boar, and in Homer, the Wisest of the Greeks, "him a boar wounded with his tusks when he had gone hunting to Parnassus with the sons of Autolycus." It appears from Xenophon that in his time a form of pig-sticking was sometimes enjoyed by the Greeks, for in his treatise on Riding he writes: "Since it is necessary that the rider should have a firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found"; and it is known that the Macedonians allowed men who had wounded a wild boar without nets to recline instead of sitting at dinner. (Theodore Gaza, A.D. 1400) Pig-sticking is

still considered a most dangerous sport, though the ride over rough country and iron-hard ground in India is to-day the chief cause of accidents as hog-hunting rules have become very strict.

It is still possible to get something of the thrill of an ancient boar-hunt in various parts of lesser-known Europe, where wild boar are still fairly plentiful. A few years ago in Albania, where customs have not altered much down the Ages, I was one of a party for a boar-hunt. We went out before dawn, climbed the hills by lantern light, walking single file, and drew the woods at daybreak for a well-known old boar who had been doing much damage to the peasants' crops, with local hounds—mostly a type of very quick, sharp, unfriendly looking bull-terriers, black, white and brown, all sizes and shapes. We walked exactly as advised by Xenophon, but with the somewhat uncomfortable difference that all the beaters had guns or rifles of most peculiar aspect and ancient description; I saw one "beater" kill a running hare at two hundred and fifteen yards with his long-barrelled old-fashioned rifle! Later, when the boar was located and the place surrounded as described by Xenophon, we, the honoured guests, were placed in the point of vantage where he was likely to break. My weapon was a short Mauser pistol, and there were rifles all round, still, when I heard something like a small train crashing towards us through the thick scrub, my heart was bounding uncomfortably. It was a thrilling minute; every rifle was raised—which incidentally had its dangers, but at the critical second a very small dog rushed into the thicket where angels would certainly have feared to tread, and shrill yaps turned the monster from his point, and all I saw was a dark shape amid the swaying undergrowth. Later, shots rang out on the other side of the covert, and his tusks are on my mantelpiece now.

The excitement of wild boar-hunting is that in the rough sort of country which wild pig like—with oak and beech scrub, fallen trees, brambles, etc., there is very little chance to see what is going on—a hunter must do the right thing quickly or someone will get hurt. It is therefore one of the finest of Field Sports.

IV

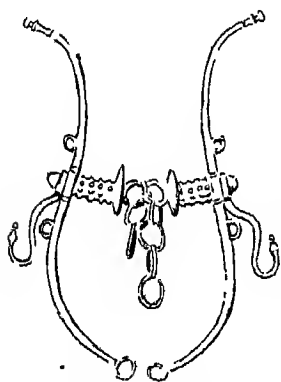
In the days of Classical Greece hunting and riding were always in watertight compartments, except on rare occasions when elderly men rode to the place of hunting.

Hellenic Greeks do not seem to have ridden much for pleasure, but for a purpose—in order as Greek gentlemen to fit themselves to be cavalry soldiers, as was their duty if, as so often happened, armies had to take the field. They knew that cavalry cannot be

improvised quickly in necessity like infantry—a fact which many people in England to-day still forget. Young Spartans and Athenians set themselves to learn, and Xenophon wrote *The Art of Horsemanship* to help them. Horse nature has not changed down the centuries so much as his exterior, and most of Xenophon's advice remains as sound as when he wrote it.

The type of horses that the Greeks rode are familiar to us in appearance from the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum—they appear strong, small, hardy, cob-like but well-bred little horses, showing signs of the influence of what Professor Ridgeway would call "the Libyan strain on the Asiatic type." Undoubtedly, they were difficult to ride, as they were all enties, and Xenophon says "much given to biting each other, their grooms and their riders!" Hogged manes in Greece and in Persia are said to have

been a sign of mourning. Small ears and extra width between them—bull-headed—was considered by the Greeks a great sign of beauty—see the horse of the moon-goddess on the Parthenon.¹



A Greek bit in bronze.
Fourth century B.C.

The Greeks rode without saddles or stirrups of any kind. The bits used were an elaborate type of jointed pelham, without the leverage obtained by a curb chain, the various discs composing the mouthpiece being movable to a certain degree prevent the bit being as severe as it appears to us. Xenophon advised the young rider to "possess two bits at least. . . . One of these should be light and the other severe with sharp teeth which can be

covered with leather when the horse goes nicely. . . . Light bits are better than severe ones, and if the severe one must be used it should be made to resemble a plain one by lightness of hand." Most sound and excellent advice for us to-day!

And this is Xenophon on the purchase of a young horse: "First look at his feet, for just as a house is bound to be worthless if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet; for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points." Of course, Xenophon was thinking of the unshod horses of his day on rough ground—but it is not a bad thing to-day to start by judging a hunter from his

¹ It should be remarked that in comparing the heights of men and horses in these sculptures there was the principle of isocephaly, in which it was considered artistic to have all heads on the same eye-level

feet upwards—"the hoof should look strong and thick. . . . The pastern should not be upright—like a goat's, as such legs get jarred easily and are more liable to strains and inflammation; nor ought the pastern to be too sloping as the fetlock joints will suffer when the horse is ridden over stones and rough ground. . . . A horse's legs should be fine and hard, his forearms broad. . . ."

Xenophon quaintly remarks that a "double back is softer to sit on," and anyone who had ridden much bareback would appreciate this reference to that round, soft "double back," typical of the "dapple grey" and circus horse of to-day! There is a similar reference to a "double back" in *Virgil's Georgics* on choosing a horse—written just before the Christian Era:

"O'er his right shoulder floating full and fair,
Sweeps his thick mane, and sweeps its pomp of hair;
Swift works its double spine, and earth around
Rings to his solid hoof that wears the ground."

Xenophon admired a horse deep through the heart with well-sprung ribs and a short back as much as Colonel Geoffrey Brooke to-day. Also with broad quarters, not appearing "split up behind," and a head and neck well set on. Such "a horse that is sound in his feet, gentle, and fairly speedy, has the will and strength to stand work, and above all is obedient, is the horse that will give us, as a matter of course, least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider."

A good horse-master himself, Xenophon considered it "the mark of a good horseman in our opinion to see that his groom like himself is instructed in the way to treat a horse—for instance, such as not making a knot in the halter at the top where it is likely to rub and make a sore which will cause a horse to be restless when his bridle is put on."

Greek horses were usually led about in muzzles. There are many representations of muzzled horses being led out to be groomed in the open—which was the Greek custom, and also when they went to what Xenophon calls the "rolling place," probably some sort of sand or dust bath, which almost everywhere in a horse country—except in Great Britain—is still looked on as necessary for the comfort and well-being of horses. In Australia three rolls a day on dry sand are regarded as an essential part of the training of a race-horse. Xenophon disapproved of washing down the legs of a tired horse quite as much as any proper stableman to-day—"it does no good and the hooves are injured by being wetted every day." Xenophon suggested instead that the legs should be hand rubbed—the daily massage Indian horse-masters still consider essential for polo-ponies.

Xenophon wrote in the same sense as Captain Hance to-day :

"When a horse shies at anything and will not come near it, you should teach him that there is nothing to be afraid of, either with the help of another horse with more courage—which is the surest way ; or else by handling the object that looks alarming yourself and gently leading the horse up to smell it.¹ To force him with blows only increases his terror ; for when horses feel pain in such a predicament they think that this too is caused by the thing at which they shy."

Xenophon sent his young horses to a "good horse maker . . . and contrived that hunger, thirst and flies were associated by the young horse with its solitary company, and the reverse through man's agency."

It was important in Greek warfare to be able to get on and off a horse quickly ; Greek horses, of course, being mounted without the aid of stirrups. Xenophon cautions a rider against giving his horse a jab in the mouth as he gets on—important to us also to-day ; and he points out how useful it is on occasion to be able to mount with equal facility from either side. He trained his own horses to "crouch," or stretch out and lower their backs so that he could get on easily.² He called getting a leg-up "the Persian fashion."

Regarding the rider's seat on a horse, Xenophon says to sit "not as if he were on a chair, but as though he were standing upright with his legs astride, for thus he will get a better grip of his horse with his thighs." It is "unlikely that this meant that the rider should take the extreme 'fork' seat" ; for as Mr. Anderson, in *Riding* (Badminton Library), points out, "not only would such a position be very insecure upon the simple saddles of the Greeks, but it is inconsistent with the graceful and firm positions exhibited by the marbles." Xenophon liked the rider's lower leg to "hang loose and easy from the knee downwards and that the rider should accustom himself to keeping his body above the hips as supple as possible, for thus he will be able to stand more fatigue and be less liable to come off"—just as Colonel Geoffrey Brooke counsels to-day. "The left arm should be close to the horseman's side as his figure will look best and his arm have more power. . . . As for reins we recommend that they be of equal strength, not weak nor slippery nor thick." Also true to-day.

¹ A young hunter of mine, taken on Army manœuvres once, was tied up during a midday halt to the back of a tank. Later, when that tank moved off with a frightful din, spitting fire from two machine-guns, to everyone's surprise the young mare walked quietly behind the tank on which she had had her dinner !

² This is indeed a great convenience side-saddle. I had one hunter who learned this habit quickly and became a delight to get on and off side-saddle, always such a rest to both horse and rider during a long day with hounds.

Greek horses trotted, and in faster paces were trained to lead with the correct leg—off fore when turning right etc. Most of our horses to-day seem to lead most naturally with the near fore (unless they have been constantly ridden side-saddle); but in the Parthenon friezes the Greek horses all lead with the off fore. Probably the Greek sculptors, who it is believed were much bound by tradition, considered this action the more artistic. Phidias in the Parthenon approximated very closely to the real position of a horse trotting, as has been proved to be the true fact recently by cinema photography. See Plate V.

Xenophon's methods of training his young horses were similar to that of horse-masters in all ages—quietly ridden daily, not for too long at any one time; and as it was very necessary for Greek horsemen to be able to stop and turn in battle their horses were schooled like a polo-pony to-day, to make them balanced and handy. They were trained to go equally well up or down hill and over rough country, and Xenophon says taught to jump walls and ditches, and on and off banks—the lessons being given “sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and the exercises made sometimes long and sometimes short, for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time.”

Xenophon wrote from practical experience of a lifetime with horses: “The gods have given to men the power of instructing each other in their duty by word of mouth, which is denied to a horse; but, if you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. This rule can be stated in a few words, but it applies to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him when he takes it. He will also leap over and jump out of anything and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.” This is according to the teaching of all later experts of Equitation. And in the same way, with regard to a high-couraged keen horse, Xenophon counsels the rider to “start him off very quietly and gently, so as not to excite him. Any sudden sign disturbs a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds disturb a man. It is important to realise that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. If you want to correct a high-couraged horse that is going too fast, do not pull at him suddenly, but quietly check him with the bit, soothing him, rather than forcing him to a quiet pace.” This might have been written by Whyte Melville or Captain J. E. Hance, and not two thousand three hundred years ago! “Long exercise with rather frequent

turns calms a horse ; and quiet exercise lasting a long time soothes and quiets a high-couraged horse without exciting him. If anyone supposes that he can quiet a horse by frequent riding at a fast pace so as to tire him out, the opposite is the truth. For in such cases a high-couraged horse does his utmost to get the upper hand by force, and in his excitement, like an angry man, he often causes irreparable injuries both to himself and to his rider." There again spoke the horse-master ; and he adds : " It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still, especially on the back of a high-couraged horse, touching him as little as possible with anything other than those parts which give us a safe seat by contact."¹

With regard to the use of the bit, Xenophon says : " If you can teach the horse to go with a slack rein, to hold his neck up and to bend it towards the head, you will cause him to do the very things in which he himself delights and takes the greatest pleasure . . . the mouth must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, ease the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour your horse whenever he responds to your wishes. When you notice that lightness of hand gives him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him. . . . There is plain proof that a horse takes pleasure in going fast, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength," to which Xenophon adds in true Greek fashion, " for nothing in excess is ever pleasing to either horse or man." The Hellenic Greeks were really fond of and appreciative of their horses. In the British Museum there is a delightful vase showing a black-figured horse being led up at a festival to receive the Chaplet of Victory—not the rider !

The little homily on Horsemanship winds up with some remarks on " the way to make a horse show himself off, stepping high and prancing at a slow canter "—such as we see in the marble friezes of the Parthenon—the embryo " airs " of the Riding School. " Some people teach these accomplishments by switching the horse under the hocks, others by telling off a man to run alongside and hit him " ; but Xenophon's own method was based on the idea that " the lesson is most satisfactory if, as we have repeatedly said, the rider invariably allows the horse relaxation when he has done something according to his rider's wishes. For what a horse does under restraint he does without understanding, with no more grace than a dancer would show who was whipped and goaded. . . . A horse must make the most graceful and brilliant appearance as

¹ Xenophon used as additional " aids " a *chirp* with the lips to rouse a horse and a *chuck* with the tongue to stop him, as in parts of the West Highlands and Isle of Skye to this day.

if of his own will with the help of aids. . . . This is the attitude in which artists represent the horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance . . . and rivet the gaze of all beholders, young and old alike."¹

The essentials of true horsemanship have changed very little, though every generation has had to re-make the discovery for itself. Xenophon could probably have managed the "great horse," tilted with Piers Gaveston, or performed "airs" to the satisfaction of the Court of Louis XIII; he would surely have been much interested in the experiments of Charles II in horse racing and would have much in common with the Duke of Cumberland, who gave up soldiering and bred "Eclipse." Surely he would have liked our Horse Shows, our Children's Pony Club—I fancy he could have played Polo and been a brilliant rider to hounds in any type of country.

v

Having considered the right way to ride in Hellenic Greek, it is interesting to go a little further on into history and meet one who was considered the most gifted horseman of all the Greeks, and became the best general of his day and near demi-god—Alexander the Great, whose doings have stirred the imagination all down the Ages. Admitting the dazzling personality and magnificent achievements, historians to this day are still uncertain exactly how to appraise him at his real worth. Was he supremely lucky to die young in the hour of victory, was he the greatest organising genius and Dictator of the Ancient World, or was he merely a successful adventurer and opportunist? What cannot be denied is that Alexander was the first man in history to rise above the narrow selfishness of the times which confined Greek civilisation to one country and almost one class. When he prayed at Ophis, conqueror of the then known world, for a union of hearts and a commonwealth of Greeks and Persians, he proclaimed for the first time an idea of the Brotherhood of man. Although he died before he could bring into existence the world empire of his dreams, under which all peoples were to have equal rights and privileges, he paved the way both for the Roman Empire and the Christian Church. Probably Alexander had himself been much influenced by his sojourn in Egypt. "To him, our two great lines of social-political thought trace back. From his

¹ It was said of the Greeks of the Colony of Sybaris in Italy, that they taught their horses to dance to the sound of flute-music, and their enemies, the Crotons, hearing this, learnt the tunes and instead of blowing trumpets played these tunes during a battle, and the well-trained horses instead of behaving as war-horses started dancing, with the result that their riders fell off and were taken and slain!

divine kingship, through Roman Emperor and Mediæval Pope our rulers 'by the Grace of God' descend, and from his prayer at Ophis through the Stoics and the Christian communists, is derived the central doctrine of the French revolution." (Professor F. A. Wright, *The Romance of Life in the Ancient World*.) As Mr. J. C. Stobart says: "Alexander differed from the vulgar type of adventurer and stands among civilising conquerors like William the Norman with his Domesday Book, Napoleon with his Code and Julius Cæsar with his Julian Laws and his Calendar." This is not the place to tell his story; it is part of history. You can read it in Plutarch's *Lives* or in the late Arthur Weigall's fascinating *Alexander the Great*, but there is a tale illustrating his character which is one of the most famous incidents in Alexander's life.

A certain Thessalian horse-dealer turned up at the Court of Philip of Macedon with a magnificent horse for which he was asking an enormous sum of money. The horse was said to be unrideable, which was a great pity as he was so extremely good-looking, dark brown in colour, with a white star on his forehead and, it was said, a mark like the head of an ox on his quarters—which may have been a brand mark or a peculiar natural spot of some sort, but hence the name "Bucephalos" or ox-head. King Philip went down to the "riding ground" to look at the marvel, taking the young Alexander, a boy of about twelve, with him, and was much disappointed that all his most famous riders failed even to mount "Bucephalos," who reared and bucked and appeared quite impossible. Philip angrily ordered the dealer to take away the mad horse, but young Alexander protested that it was a shame to lose such a magnificent stallion because no one had the skill or courage to handle him properly. The King was annoyed at the boy's presumption in criticising his elders, and bet him scornfully that he could do no better.

Young Alexander quietly took the reins from the anxious groom and turned "Bucephalos" round to face the sun, having noticed that the horse was frightened of its own shadow on the ground. He ran quietly along, holding the reins in one hand and patting him with the other, until, seeing the opportunity, he vaulted neatly on to the big horse's back and sat there firmly, bare-back, in true Greek fashion. Alexander went on speaking to the horse and patting him, until dropping his hands he gave him his head and they were off like the wind across the field and down the road. The King and the whole Court watched with breathless anxiety, fearing an accident any moment, but at last, to their relief, they saw the boy turn and come back riding easily and urging the now-tiring horse with his heels. A great cheer greeted their return, which is said to have so moved the King that, kissing Alexander, he said: "You will



have to go and create a kingdom worthy of you, my son : Macedonia is too small for you ! ” Thus Alexander won “ Bucephalos,” one of the most famous horses of all time—who finally met his death many years later at the close of the eight-hour battle of the crossing of the Indus. Alexander called one of the cities he founded Bucephala, after his horse (and another Peritos, the name of his favourite dog).

VI

Even the briefest notes of Greek hunting must mention its mystic significance. The Greeks were intensely religious people, basing much of their religion on Nature and ancestor worship. Hunting was in the blood of the Archæan tribes who came down from the North and they undoubtedly took over many of the ideas of the Ægean people they displaced. Consequently, a love of Nature and open-air life distinguished them from earliest time through the period of Homer and onwards, a love which would later, coming in contact with Asiatic and African thought, eventually culminate in the worship of Artemis the huntress goddess, she whose *culte* at Ephesus was to cause so much trouble to St. Paul. As Jehanne d’Orliac says in *Moon Mistress* :

“ Mythology makes Artemis or Diana the daughter of Latona, but she is the child of running water, the deep shades of the woods and the mysteries of solitude. All chaste elements of nature, all purities of soul have the Dorian goddess for their symbol. Sister of Phoebus, . . . she is the Moon. Tall and slim and exquisite, she tops by a head the wandering troupe of nymphs . . . her hips narrow as a boy’s, her long legs suggest the swift runner. Image of activity, of physical and spiritual strength, she is the glory of the forests. She is invoked in sickness, for it is in the forest that all purifying and healing essences are locked away in the secret caskets of the herbs. She offers to the tired body and weary mind the balsamic fragrance of the woods for their refreshing . . . she is vigour, health, poise in serenity.”

This mystical side to hunting remained of great importance for long ages. For instance, it has been fairly well established that centuries after the Christiansation of France the *culte* of Diana was carried on secretly in the South until quite late in the Middle Ages, and it was not until the Catholic Church, in the wonderful way in which it can compromise, bending where it cannot break, that the secret orgies to the Moon Goddess were transferred in all righteousness to the Feast of St. Hubert, the Patron-Saint of Hunters, still celebrated in France. Hounds and the whole Hunt attend Mass on November 3rd and are blessed and sprinkled with holy water—a very picturesque scene, linking backwards through the centuries to the Hunting of other days.

And there is a further example of the way in which Christianity was grafted on to the old Paganism, in the story of St. George and the Dragon—one of the most popular saints in the Middle Ages, chosen to represent England and always in Mediæval pictures shown with his horse. Is not St. George the Christian version of the equally popular Greek Bellerophon and Pegasus slaying the Chimera? After the Great War British Empire Cavalry selected the motif of "St. George and the Dragon" for their Memorial to stand in Hyde Park, which arouses fascinating speculation as to the similarity of ideas among people of the same tastes, all down the Ages.

CHAPTER III

CHARLEMAGNE: THE CONNECTING LINK

"The father of modern civilisation."

J. I. MOMBERT, *Charles the Great.*

I

I HAVE PURPOSELY LEFT OUT ANY DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN hunting. Many Romans did hunt, of that there is no doubt—if only for the reason that they slavishly copied the Greeks in everything they did. Amongst those Romans who hunted were some of their greatest men—for instance, Sulla, who spent the last years of his adventurous life hunting from his Campagna home (78 B.C.), the Emperor Trajan, who Pliny says enjoyed hunting and mountain climbing, and Marcus Aurelius, who loved good horses—but the average Roman, whether patrician or plebeian, was not a hunting man or a sportsman in the English sense—that he engaged in field sports requiring that the animal hunted was on its own ground, certain customs be observed and an element of danger encountered by the hunter. The Romans who hunted most certainly followed the Greek customs of hunting. After all, long before the decline of the Empire, the Romans were a mixed race, chiefly of Mediterranean extraction; their sports and pastimes were distinctly not those of Northern Europe.

This explains very largely the pleasure taken by Romans of all Ages in the great *venetiones*—men fighting for their lives in an arena against wild beasts; the mad Emperor Caligula—whose statue on horseback at the British Museum is seen on Plate VI, who created his favourite horse "Incitatus" a Senator and gave it a golden bucket to drink out of at his banquets—probably going to the furthest limits in making use of human endurance of this kind on an unbelievable scale. But long before his day, and long afterwards, the inhabitants of Rome enjoyed "spectacles," such as three hundred tigers against men defending themselves with nets and tridents, or Gauls armed with their national weapons fighting wolves and bears, and tigers *v.* lions, etc. There is no doubt that both the chiefest citizen and man-in-the-street prided themselves on their knowledge of style and technique, as well as

keying themselves up to the highest pitch of excitement. This racial characteristic is still evident in sports typical of the "Latin" people to-day—such as motor racing in Italy and France, and bull-fighting in Spain ; to be popular in Southern Europe, a sport must be very dangerous to life and limb and, above all, it must be performed in public for people to see.

Northern Europeans do not naturally choose publicity for their best performances. Relatively few people of Northern stock care to pay to watch dangerous exhibitions. Of course English people, being a mixed race, are influenced by both points of view, but for the most part the typical Englishman enjoys a hunt in which the hunted gets a chance—except those who have done him personal harm, whether human "criminal" or animal "vermin" : they are outside the law. This explains how it is that the average Englishman thoroughly enjoys a "rat hunt," in which the rat is given no chance and to exterminate the pest is the main object, while cruel sports—such as bear and bull-baiting, dog-fighting, cock-fighting, etc.—appealed only to a relatively small section of the community (*vide* Shakespeare), and there was little outcry when they were abolished by Law. In fact, such pastimes with English people appeal only if and when they provide an opportunity to indulge in the national instinct for betting on chance.

Chariot racing was extremely popular in Rome from the first century A.D. for a long era. The professional drivers were very skilful and their names were well known to the public—they were the cinema stars of the day ! Rival factions in the racing world became of political significance. Chariot races caused as much popular excitement as Cup Ties and international contests. At first there were only Reds and Whites, but later on Green and Blue were added to the racing colours, and even governments rose or fell on the results in the arena. The best horses that money could buy were imported from the ends of the world ; the finest Italian horses in Roman times being bred in Apulia.

But if not hunting people the Romans were always great horse-breeders and good horse-masters ; their cavalry was excellently mounted—whether auxiliary, native, or recruited from Rome itself. Relying as the Empire did on rapid communications, suitable horses were highly prized and bred in Italy, as well as brought from all parts of the Empire, particularly Spain. There is clear evidence from Roman historians that Libyan horses had been exported into Spain in large numbers by 219 B.C., so that by 90 B.C. the Iberians and Celt-Iberians in Spain possessed horses of fine quality "superior to all other breeds in fleetness and endurance." (Pesidonius.) Pliny also establishes the fact that the fine docile type of Libyan horse had been planted in Spain some

ten centuries before the Saracen conquest and some three or four before the Arabs ever owned a horse.

Julius Cæsar averaged seventy miles a day, riding from Rome to Northern France with relays of horses; the "posts" situated every twenty miles along a highway being warned and horses kept ready to change all along the route. Such a pace would not be reached again across Europe after the fall of the Empire until the days just prior to the introduction of the steam-engine. Roman roads were so good that it was said to be possible to read whilst being driven along the Via Appia in a chariot. All Roman horses were trained to the pace called the "amble"¹—that comfortable gait which is now almost unknown in Great Britain, though still common in America and the Dominions.

Roman horses were generally shod. The Roman type of horse-shoe dating back to the occupation of Britain is constantly being found and may be seen in almost any museum in Europe. The small size of this shoe is most noticeable, being seldom over four inches in length or breadth. It has no toe clips, is not fullered, and has only six nail punches, which are relatively large, oval and elongated. The rim of the Roman pattern of horseshoe is always wavy in outline, being caused by bulging when punching the nail holes, as the early smiths' anvils had no beak on which to correct the uneven outline. The small size need not surprise us, as judged by the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius—and surely the Emperor would be riding one of the best chargers procurable—his horse was no bigger than a modern polo pony.

The great gift to civilisation and so to ourselves from Rome, was, of course, the ideal of Law and Order in all things—an idea which has affected the development of practically everything in our daily lives, including the laws and customs governing the Chase from earliest times. The Romans in centuries of intercourse bequeathed this idea to all the people with whom they came in contact who were sufficiently advanced to receive such an idea. It is therefore much to be lamented that we know so little of the great and unusual people, who before the first eruptions from the woods occupied Europe from the Alps to the Rhine and across the English Channel. "We may be sure that Cæsar, who defeated them, left in his *Commentaries* but a sketchy and disingenuous account of these Celts or Gauls, for they must have been of great intelligence and character and were beaten more for lack of cohesion than for incapacity." (*Charlemagne*, by C. E. Russell.) Mediterranean traders who visited them continually had brought to them early a written language; their own genius composed in it histories and poems of priceless value to succeeding generations. At a later time when continental Europe dwelt in

¹ Ramses at Karnak is shown in a chariot drawn by two ambling horses.

unutterable darkness, when the putrefaction of the Roman Empire and the raids of the barbarians had erased even the memory of learning, the Irish branch of Gauls were writing epics and developing art. Racial prejudices have long obscured these facts. It should not be overlooked, as it so constantly and unfairly is, that though St. Patrick made Ireland Christian, from Ireland came Saint Columba to France at a most troublous time in her history to influence the Frankish rulers of the remnants of Romano-Gaul, Celt to Celt. Columba established a monastic school in the Vosges Mountains, under the influence of which came a certain Arnulf, a Frank, and the founder of the Carlovingian line.

Practically nothing is known of the pre-Roman civilisation of these islands and the British branch of the Gallic family—but it is becoming increasingly evident from archæological research that the Britons seen by Julius Cæsar were no mean barbarians. Though lacking many of the amenities of civilised Rome, they were a rich, powerful, brave and well-organised people, quite capable, as they proved, of defying Roman legions and requiring generations of "peaceful penetration" before the majority would consent to abide by the system of international law and order known as Imperial Rome. Julius Cæsar says himself that his first forays into England were for the purpose of "getting gold, horses, hounds and skins." People who had these commodities in such abundance as to tempt the great Roman general were certainly interesting. It is written that six hundred British chariots were driven in-shore while the Roman ships cruised along the South Coast. Now chariots mean horses, which entail suitable food, breeding, training and experience; and chariots also mean roads and roads entail a fairly high degree of communal organisation. Thus we may argue that people who could put a skilled force of cavalry in the field—chariots were still the cavalry, or more correctly the mechanised infantry, in England of the day as already explained—moreover, people who could hunt and kill the wild beasts with fur, coveted by the Romans, i.e. lynx, wolf, bear, marten, wild cat, fox—can have been no mean exponents with weapons of offence. Cæsar wrote of the British charioteers: "Daily practice enabled them to pull up their horses when in full speed on a slope or steep declivity, to check or turn them in a narrow space, to run out on the pole and stand on the yoke, and to get nimbly back again into the chariot."

With regard to the type of horses found in Britain by the Romans we have no information; but wherever the Romans went they improved the breed of horses in the methodical utilitarian way they improved everything, without disturbing native custom, or upsetting racial prejudices. Six hundred years

of influence, of course, must have left its mark on Britain. Queen Boadicea, who defeated a Roman army with her chariots at Verulam, had by then, anyhow, a pretty useful type of horse, and surely it must have been bigger, more carefully bred and looked after than existing Exmoor and Devon ponies—so often pointed out as the “native British horse.” Her people, the Iceni, are reputed to have been great horse-breeders, and it is interesting that they dwelt in a district comprising Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Huntingdon, so occupying the modern centre of racing, Newmarket Heath,—always noted as a good horse district. We can only presume that British horses were somewhat similar to the so-called Celtic pony, still recognised as a type of small well-bred little horse found on the Celtic fringe of Europe. The type is remarkable for its extreme docility. Celtic ponies may be descended from a Northern branch of the same variety as the Arabian. The typical Irish horse described by Thomas Blunderville in 1580 was no recent outcome of Spanish sires saved from the wreck of the Armada as sometimes stated, but was in general use in Ireland by the tenth century—and probably much earlier.

From the remains of the bones of domestic animals found at Newstead belonging to the Auxiliaries who occupied the Roman fort on the Border during the later part of the first or the middle part of the second century of the present era, it is established that they then possessed all the types of early horses: (1) broad-browed, big-boned ponies of the forest *robustus* type from 11 to 12·2 hands; (2) slender-limbed Celtic ponies of the plateau type from 11 to 12·2 hands; (3) 14-hand ponies of the Libyan-Arabian variety, similar to a high-caste Arabian to-day. It is possible that the Arabian-like ponies were brought to Scotland by Gaulish cavalry from a district where the native breeds had been improved by foreign horses originally brought from Spain or North Africa. (*A Roman Frontier Post*, by Professor J. Curle.)

Professor Ridgeway traces the influence of the North African horse very early in Ireland—particularly because of the typical “Libyan” appearance of certain fossil skulls dug up in a bog near Dublin, together with some early tenth-century articles. There was constant trade and intercourse between Ancient Ireland and the Gauls even before the time of Charlemagne. In the ancient Cricchulainn Saga of Ireland, belonging to the first century B.C., the hero’s chariot horses were “alike in size, beauty, fierceness and speed”; their manes being “long and curly, and they had curling tails. . . . The right-hand horse was a grey horse, broad in the quarters, fierce, swift and wild, the other was jet black and he was broad-hooved and slender.” And from *Cæsar’s Commentaries* it seems likely that the Gauls in France

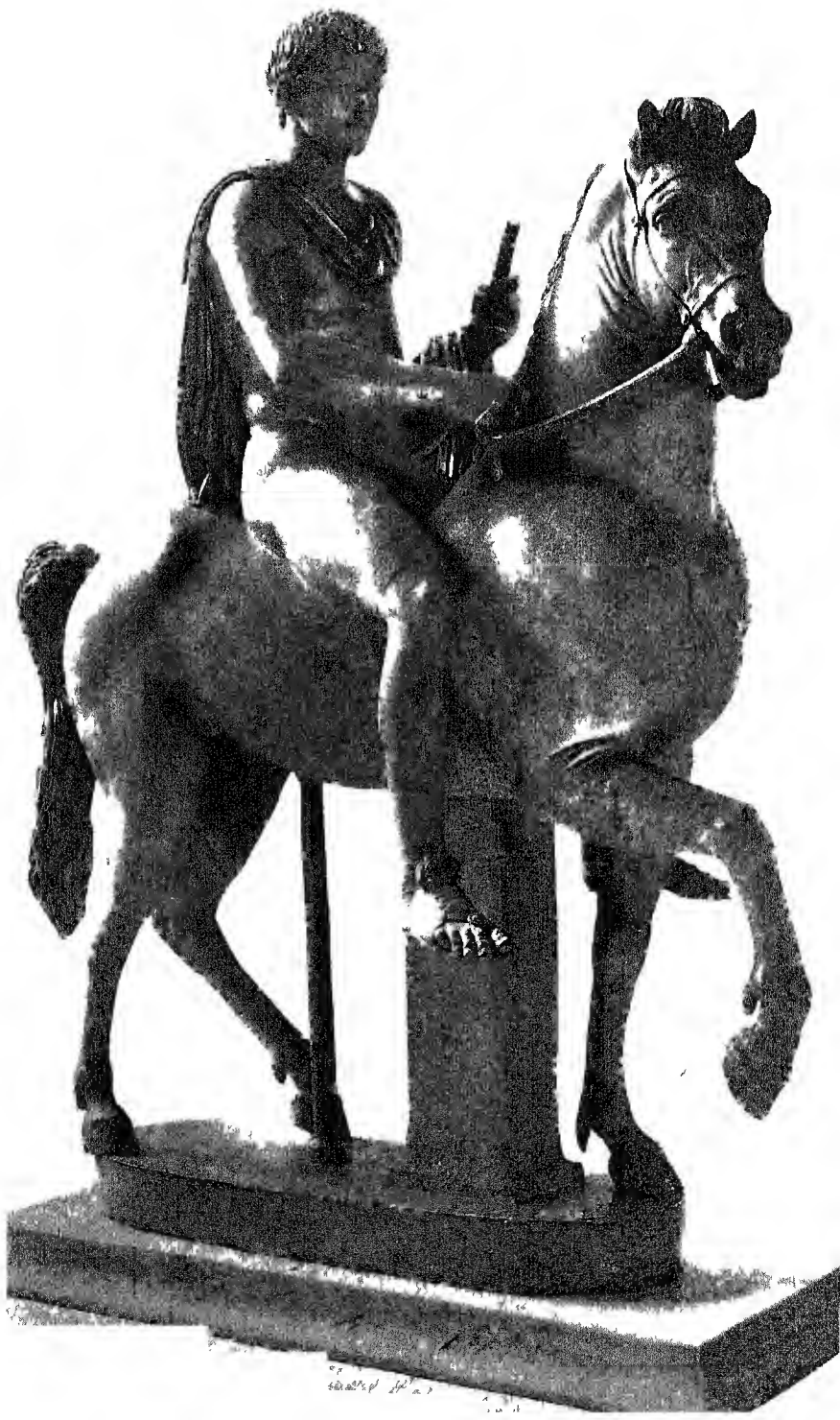
(Top picture) *Greek Horsemen*, 447–433 B.C.

(Parthenon frieze, British Museum)

(Lower) *Alexander the Great on Bucephalus*
(Roman bronze).

(By permission of British Museum)





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of his day owned horses superior in size to those of the British. The Celtic pony used by the Northern British tribes against the Romans was probably the same Celtic pony which still lingers in the Hebrides, Connemara, the Shetlands, the Faroe Islands and Iceland. It is probable that even at the time of Cæsar's arrival the Celtic pony was mixed with the large-headed *equus caballus* of Asia, but doubtless the Gauls of Britain, like their Belgic relations on the French side of the Channel, had imported good horses from the Iberian Peninsula and even North Africa. Thus it may have come about that at the dawn of history the British Isles contained some of the best of the grey and dark coloured horses, though very small, about the size of a Welsh pony to-day. It is quite possible that the Welsh pony to-day represents the descendants of horses driven by Boadicea and ridden by the Romans. British coins of the first century bear the device of a horse.

The Romans undoubtedly assimilated many of the hunting customs of the people with whom they came in contact. The arch of Constantine, in Rome, represents hunting scenes in the time of the Emperor Trajan, the latter being shown hunting wild boar and lion and, particularly interesting, spearing a wild boar from a horse, like the Greeks and Celts. Roman remains in France—pottery, mosaic pavements, etc. belonging to the Gallo-Roman period—show the interest taken in hunting at that time and its religious significance; for instance, a pavement discovered at Hillebonne (in 1870) illustrates not only horsemen following hounds through a wood and shooting with bows and arrows on foot antlered stags, but also the important sacrifice to Diana—the Roman goddess of Hunting who carried on the character of the Greek Artemis—and the libations poured out to the gods at the end of the day's sport. The vast forest of the Ardennes is said to have been dedicated to Diana, and in the annual festivals held there in honour of St. Hubert, St. Eustace and St. Germain as patron-saints of hunting, her *culte* survived by centuries the Christianisation of the inhabitants. In the same way the Celtic goddess Epona, a patroness of horses always shown sitting sideways on the right of a mare, came to be identified with the Blessed Virgin.

The Roman Consul, Arrian, wrote a book on hunting rather after the manner of Xenophon, which is interesting to us chiefly for its descriptions of "Gallic hounds" and his advice to his fellow-countrymen to "give up the use of nets and to hunt the hare with hounds according to the practice in Gaul." Tacitus and Pliny, the naturalist and author of the famous *Annals*, were both

Emperor Caligula on Roman horse, 37 A.D.

(By permission of British Museum)

fond of hunting. The latter wrote to his friend from his beautiful country villa: "Do you want to study? Would you like to fish? Will you hunt? You can do all these at my home."

With regard to hounds in Roman Britain we have little to go on, save that from the dawn of history Britain has been famous for its sporting dogs, and particularly in Wales and Ireland, on the borders of England and Scotland near the Tweed—where tradition dies slowly and old tales have been handed down the Ages—there have been Queens of Fairie-land "with milk-white hounds and snow-white steeds," establishing some contact with a "Far Contree" over the sea.

Cæsar wrote that "the Gauls coursed for sport rather than what they got"—the first mention of Sport, such as we know it. It seems that the Greeks and other Mediterranean peoples possessed few hounds that could run down a hare until about 300 B.C. they first came to know the Celtic *Vertragi*. Arrian, who wrote in the second century A.D. (he died during the reign of Marcus Aurelius), says: "How excellent were the hounds of Gaul . . . much faster than contemporary Greek hounds, some being called *Segusii*, but the *Vertragi* were the fastest." The Gallic *Segusii*, or scent-dogs, "are shaggy and ugly to look at, the *Vertragi*, or 'quick-turners,' are pleasant to look at as regards eyes and shape, hair and colour"—the modern greyhound type. He mentions "Cirras," "Bonnas" and "Horme" by name as "excellent to hunt."

Gratius, a Roman poet living during the time of Augustus, wrote of hounds: "The far-distant Celt is celebrated with high renown, . . . looks are deceptive . . . when a great work is to be done and courage to be displayed and the hazard of approaching war gives the final summons, then you would not admire any hounds so much as the British dog." And Oppian, in the second century A.D., wrote: "There is also a certain strong breed of dog in this case used for tracking purposes—small, indeed, but well worth the tribute of our song—which the wild tribes of painted Britons are accustomed to breed called *Agassæi*; it is round in shape, very skinny with shaggy hair and a dull eye, but provided in its feet with deadly claws, and it has rows of sharp close-set teeth. . . . In power of scent it is easily superior of all other hounds and the very best in the world for hunting, since it is very clever at finding the trail of those creatures that walk the earth, but it is also able to indicate with accuracy even the scent which is carried through the air." Thus began the specialisation of breeds—the mastiff type of dog, the swift coursing hound of the Greeks and the Gallic hound. And other great Roman writers—Horace, Ovid, Virgil and Tacitus—constantly refer to hounds in

those pages which at times in the schoolroom are so very hard to understand.

St. Columba sailed from Ireland to France in a ship whose cargo contained those famous Celtic hounds, which in the time of Augustus (29 B.C.—A.D. 14) also formed part of the exports of Celtic Britain to the Continent, where hounds were valued for war and hunting. There is no doubt that the Early Irish—or as they were known by the ancient writers—the Scotia, bred hounds that were world famous for centuries. They were universally praised as brilliant in the chase of wolves and deer and magnificent in appearance. They were the *græ* hounds, or hounds of *grew* or *gre*—i.e. “high degree”—which became in Old English *gradus*, “graded hounds of the best breed,” wrongly translated sometimes as “greyhounds.” In view of the known taste of the times it is likely that they were smooth-coated, of the modern greyhound build and much stronger and larger, very courageous, clever and hunted by scent as well as by sight—surely inferring a hound of the modern foxhound type. There is some foundation for this theory that the last example of the old wolf-hound strain in Ireland, a hound belonging to Lord Altamont in 1788, was like a great foxhound in appearance. It is practically certain that the modern “Irish deer-hound (so-called), handsome as he undoubtedly is, is nothing like the ancient deer- or wolf-hound in any way whatever.” (Ash’s *Dogs*.) See Plate IV with the photograph of the delightful Roman bronze of a Celtic wolf-hound found by Dr. Wheeler during excavations on the Roman site at Lydney Park—belonging to Viscount Bledisloe—which Dr. Wheeler thinks was probably connected with the *culte* of the British god Nodens, whose temple was situated there in Roman times and who may have been a god of hunting. (*Report on Excavations*, Dr. and Mrs. R. E. M. Wheeler, 1932.)

Ancient Irish laws with regard to hounds date back to the dawn of history. For instance, it was written among the most important laws of the land that: “A nobleman’s Irish hunting-hound from birth till it be full grown shall be worth half the value of a nobleman’s Irish hunting horse of the same age”—and incidentally was only allowed three bites! “A trained Irish *græ*-hound belonging to the King is worth a pound; if not trained, 120 pence.”

Therefore we can take it for granted that before the Romans came there were in the British Isles already, as in Gaul, good horses and hounds—together with plenty of wild animals to hunt—and the sporting spirit was already in course of development. Traditionally Sir Tristram of Arthur’s Court was made the father

of hunting in these islands, and stories of his prowess circulated hundreds of years later throughout Europe.

II

After the Romans—the deluge. We know little of a period lasting some four hundred years, except that here and there, in hermits' caves, in the minds of people in Ireland, in legends of King Arthur and his knights, in the East, in forgotten corners of the late Empire—there was kept alive a faint echo of things as they once had been, of Christianity, of Law and Order, of something better than quarrelling, drunkenness and habits worse than any of the brute beasts. Little by little, small fires glowed in the darkness, voices were heard—till at last all culminated in the person of one man known to us as Charlemagne.

In this chaos we are not likely to know about hunting, horses or hounds ; the very names of the kings are lost from the accounts by Roman writers of the people living beyond the Rhine before the failure of the Empire's defences. We know that the conquering Frankish tribes who waded to power through blood were great and skilful hunters, brave and energetic, who had come to despise Roman rule, seeing only its worst characteristics, the weaknesses of Law and Order represented by the dying eagles ; they could not see the wood for the trees—the trees in their case being very likely bad officers, corrupt officials, undisciplined troops, weak communications and a vacillating Central Authority. We know that with Charlemagne came a new era, or rather a reaction against the powers of darkness and petty nationalism in favour of something more enlightened and bigger, that required Law and Order. The threads were gathered up, anything regarding the Past that could help Charlemagne and the Frankish people to live better lives. Thus was saved some of the treasured accumulation of knowledge from Egypt, Greece and Rome. Much would come back in time through devious channels from the East, from the ancient Kingdom of Ireland, and from the Saracens and the Moors—but Charlemagne more than any other man may be said to have stemmed the tide of the Dark Ages and to have made possible the building of our present civilisation out of the stones and ashes that were Greece and Rome.

Charlemagne is a legendary figure in many ways around whom impossible myths have grown up ; even his biographer, Einhard, under the microscopic examination of modern historians becomes subject to suspicion. It became the habit in Mediæval Europe to ascribe all good things and all best tendencies to Charlemagne—forgetting all the evil he undoubtedly did, in the same way that it became the custom in Saxon Britain to ascribe all the virtues

to King Arthur—probably merely a brave British gentleman who also had tried to stem the tide. It is sad that there is no proof that Roland and Oliver acted in the manner ascribed to them by troubadours of a later date; on the other hand, there is no evidence to the contrary. They were very "*parfait knights*" and *gros veneurs* at a time when to live dangerously was to live.

Undoubtedly Charlemagne (c. A.D. 742–814) was a real person, a great organiser, a great administrator, and a far-seeing statesman, at a time in Europe when few people saw further than the end of their noses, the rapine, murder and spoils to be got by the strongest. His habits were to crystallise the Age of Chivalry and Feudalism. What Charlemagne did or said would go for centuries. Therefore, the fact that he was a great hunter helped to make hunting a virtue. Had he suppressed it as a pagan custom—as he did many other cherished customs of his followers—it is unlikely that hunting would have held that pride of place in an Age which came to give almost divine honours to the social laws and customs as laid down by Charlemagne. The finer arts of the Chase are unlikely to have been known to Charlemagne, but by birth and training and all the strength of racial characteristics as a leading Frank of the day, he was likely to be a bold and enterprising man in the hunting-field. From evidences of the period we might expect him to shine in the most dangerous or difficult type of hunting. The Secretary Einhard tells in his memoirs how one day the young Emperor engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with a wounded bear, threw the bear from the top of a cliff, and that after this exhibition of courage and strength he became known as Charles the Great, or Charlemagne. The monkish historian who was Charlemagne's secretary—the Great Emperor being unable to sign his own name, though he read Greek and talked Latin and German fluently—says that Charlemagne especially loved hunting the aurochs, or wild cattle of Europe (*Bos primigenius*). At a later date the aurochs came to be confused by many writers with the old European bison—an animal much like the American buffalo or bison (and sometimes called the *wisent*), of which a few specimens are left in the Bailowieza Forest and Pless in Poland.¹ But Mr. Baillie-Grohman is certain, after considerable research, that the animal hunted by Charlemagne was the true wild-ox or aurochs, from whom probably most of our domestic breeds are descended. (*Sport in Art*.)

The aurochs² is reputed to have been very brave, strong and cunning. Einhard tells a story of how Charlemagne gave a great hunting party in honour of the ambassadors sent to his Court by

¹ See Appendix I

² The aurochs, inhabitants of boggy forests, survived in forests of Poland till the seventeenth century. It is described as a black or dark colour with a light stripe along the spine. (W. Kobelt, *Die Verbreitung der Tierwelt*)

Haroun-al-Raschid, King of Persia—he of “Thousand and One Nights” fame—and took them to hunt the aurochs; but that the men from the East were terrified and bolted from their place of honour near the Emperor’s person. It was the latter’s custom to ride straight at one of these big, dangerous beasts with his drawn sword, but in the hubbub that followed, Charlemagne apparently missed his aim, with the result that the aurochs charged and would have killed him but for the quickness of Count Isambert who flung a javelin straight into its heart and the Emperor was lucky to get off with torn trousers and a slight wound in the thigh! The courtiers rushed to offer the Emperor the loan of their own nether garments which he laughingly declined, saying that he was going to show himself to Queen Hildegard,¹ also keen on hunting. It is possible that from such encounters can be traced the origin of the sport of bull-fighting—which in early days was not so artificial as it now is. On the other hand, there is almost evidence to prove it ever so much older. Antiquarians digging in Crete have unearthed a fresco at Knossus which depicts, apparently, men fighting with bulls—which may well have been the aurochs. It is possible that the legend of the Minotaur, like so many of the stories of the Classics, is founded on fact. Anyhow, it has ever been regarded in various parts of Europe as the greatest test of strength, endurance, nerve and skill to fight a bull on foot. Spanish bull-fighters are still regarded by their countrymen as heroes—judged by such standards Charlemagne, who thus delighted to hunt wild cattle, would stand high in Spanish estimation to-day, even if he were not one of the world’s greatest men. It would be interesting to speculate on such possibilities, but the origins of the bull-ring had nothing in common with the development of hunting as we know it to-day.

Legends and stories of Charlemagne, of his prowess, of his battles, and wars, and of his great knights were to be woven into the *gestes*, *chansons* and *romances* which delighted the Middle Ages. Six daughters from the age of thirty downwards used to accompany him around his great domains—embracing the greater part of Continental Europe—and it was said that he put off marrying them because he could not bear to part from any one of them. Angilbert, the Chaplain, has drawn a fascinating picture of the good-looking girls riding out hunting with their father, all tall, fair, golden-haired and with beautiful teeth. He says they wore “buskins”—which should mean leggings—so it is evident that they rode astride.

Charlemagne was so careful of his children that it was said “he

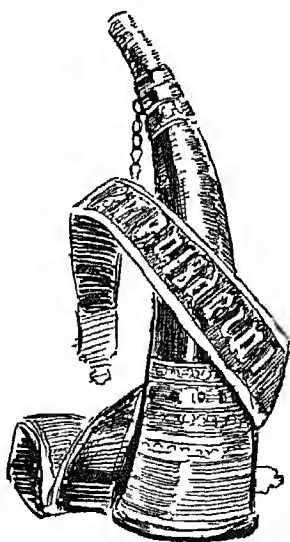
¹ Hildegard was reputed to be one of the most attractive women of her age. Her peerless beauty described by old writers as that of lilies blended with roses to which could be added a bright intellect and a kind heart, but passionate and uncontrolled.

never made a journey without some of them; his sons would ride at his side and his daughters follow him."

Gestes of Charlemagne, by the Monk of St Gall, in the following century, as well as the chronicles of Angilbert and Einhard the Emperor's secretaries, contain descriptions of contemporary hunting, but with few technical details and, of course, no pictures at that time. Riding, hunting and swimming were the Emperor's favourite exercises. Near Aix-la-Chapelle there was a large walled park for game where the King hunted, and the sport enjoyed therein is thus described very amateurishly by "a frequent spectator"

"A vast concourse of huntsmen and ladies, including the princesses royal, indeed the whole court, await the signal for the start"; and there follows an account of the hunting of a wild boar "with hounds loosed on to the scent and with wind-hounds running in view . . . the Chase grows exciting; the forest rings with the loud echoes of the wild din, the notes of the horn rouse and quicken the most savage instincts of the savage brutes, the rustling leaves drop from the shaken boughs; the boar escapes, bounds away from its pursuers and, terribly grunting, climbs the almost inaccessible points of the rocky crest . . . sits panting on its haunches . . . the dogs have tasted its blood and felt its tusks. . . . At that supreme moment the King arrives on the scene, fleetest than bird in flight, he tears through the crowd, strikes the breast of the beast with his sword and drives the cold blade home to the hilt. The wild boar falls . . . expires, and its body rolls in the yellow sand. The royal family, maidens and all, have witnessed the feat from a commanding point." (*Charles the Great*, J. I. Mombert)

Charlemagne, says the old chronicler of St. Denis, was so strong that he "could easily bend three horses together, lift a knight in armour on his outstretched palm from the ground to saddle, and with his sword *De Joreuse* cleave asunder a knight in full armour." The exact truth matters less than the fact that his name lasted down the centuries as a super-man and a pattern for the Early Middle Ages. His reputed hunting horn or oliphant of elephants' tusk, with its thirteenth-century mount, can still be seen at his ancient Aix-la-Chapelle; its owner's name has preserved it down the centuries of time.



Reputed to be the hunting-horn of Charlemagne ("Sport in Art,") with fourteenth-century mount.

Now and again one comes across references by old writers to the "hunting lions" alleged to have been used by Charlemagne—but which were most probably trained cheetahs used for hunting as has been done by Eastern potentates in India, Kashmir, Persia, etc., all down the ages, as well as in Abyssinia and Syria to-day. This Eastern practice was reintroduced from time to time in Europe, to the consternation of many and the awe of the ignorant, giving rise to the traditions of various French Kings hunting with leopards and even lions.¹

III

What is important to us tracing the history of hunting is that Charlemagne may be regarded as the first founder of the important code of morals and behaviour known as Chivalry: "We may refer chivalry in a general sense to the age of Charlemagne." (Hallam) At its worst Chivalry deteriorated into a most formidable oppression, analogous to the slave-raiders of the Renaissance, or the Chinese war lords and American gangsters of to-day; but at its best Chivalry expressed in practice suited to the roughness and hardness of the times the ethics of Christianity, placing service for others, and particularly for the poor and the weak and the suffering, as the highest duty of mankind—the type of Chivalry that prompted Edward the Black Prince to wait on his captives himself, Richard Cœur-de-Lion to deal with Saladin as a friend, and Edward III to give his most solemn oath as "by my troth as a knight" The traditional Charlemagne became the fashionable *culte* in Mediæval England as in Mediæval France; almost every young knight patterned himself on his nephew, the peerless Roland, hero of Roncevalles (whose oliphant likewise has been preserved—and with seeming authenticity).

The whole idea of Chivalry was to keep an efficient armed force for the country's use in a constant state of preparation, without actual cost to the State. Armed horsemen, the finest known fighting machine in the world of that date, assembled at the King's bidding. They gave their services. There were no disability pensions, etc., but each warrior had a certain title to land privilege in return for services rendered.

The point is that ultimately chivalry depended on the horse, to whose care and breeding the best knowledge and effort of the times was given; and without this super-development of the horse there could have been no hunting such as we know it. In fact, the actual origins of Chivalry are closely bound up with that

¹ Louis XII undoubtedly used cheetahs for hunting roe deer and probably obtained them in Italy from the Duc de Sforza, after conquering Milan, Italy being then much in touch with the East. The Great Mogul Akbar is said to have had 6000 hunting cheetahs

of the " great horses," whose pedigree can be traced back to horses owned by the Tencteri, a Germanic tribe living near the Rhine in the time of Tacitus, one of those whose tribal customs would one day become the law of the land. For though Charlemagne made laws, the institutions which these laws reveal go back infinitely further as tribal customs of a much earlier period. To take one example alone—the custom of training horsemen. But for trained horsemen under one of Charlemagne's greatest predecessors, Charles Martel " the Hammer ", at the Battle of Poitiers in October, A.D. 732, the Saracens would have won the whole of Europe. The Saracens, who had then already overrun a great part of Asia, conquered Egypt and became masters of North Africa with the cream of the horse depôt, were a formidable foe. It was only that Charles' Franks rode the bigger horses—those developed from the old Asiatic dun stock constantly improved by fresh importations from the south by the Gauls and people like the Tencteri. Poitiers, better known as Tours—was the first great test of Chivalry, with the result that for hundreds of years the horsemen of Europe believed themselves, and were, impregnable ; and the " great horse " continued to hold the position of pre-eminence in the partnership, as we shall see, till new forms of warfare emerged, about the time of the Tudor period in England.

It was by means of their horsemen that Austrian Franks established their superiority over their neighbours, in time to create the Western Empire anew. The word *caballarios*, which occurs in the " Capitularies " of Charlemagne, became the word for " knight " in all the Romance languages, while in Germany the knight was the *ritter*, or rider.¹

In its own age Chivalry may be said to have rested, like the highest civilisations of Rome and Greece, on communal labour ; but the knightly Ages will always enjoy the glory of having formulated a code of honour which aimed at rendering the upper classes worthy of their privileges. The theory of basing privilege on service rendered to the community is known as Feudalism, a form of highly organised Communism. Feudalism lasted for long ages and we in England can still trace its effects on many of our customs—those of hunting in particular.

Charlemagne's influence is still strong on English country life. Interesting accounts have come down to us regarding the administration of his royal country estates which were modelled of course, on those of the Romans, in which every little community became self-supporting under its great house, the manor of

¹ There is some doubt as to whether there were knights in England before the Conquest, but *enights* was an old English word meaning " a youth that served "—becoming finally the military tenant of a great lord. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that in 1085 William the Conqueror " dubbade his sunne Henrie to ridere ", in other words, William dubbed Henry, his son, a knight.

Feudal days. The *villas* were miniature empires, more vast and primitive than the castles of the next ages, not cities or villages—the modern German, Flemish or French village with a mansion house in the centre, a large number of houses radiating from it and terminating in the open field or forest, being perhaps the nearest picture to be had of Charlemagne's *villas* as they existed at Campeigne, Ratisbon, Liege, Frankfurt and many other places. His cattle were thoroughbred, his stables contained only the finest horses; their pedigrees being accurately traced. In addition to all our modern farmyard stock Charlemagne had hawks and falcons and every breed of dog. Even the culture of fish and bees was not forgotten. Everything was carefully accounted for at Christmas and the tenth given to the Church; Lent was the season for sending in the cash balance—is that why our Revenue authorities' financial year concludes on April 5th? Everything was home-made by furriers, tanners, dyers, weavers, joiners, masons and smiths of high and low degree, from blacksmith to goldsmith—Charlemagne's *villas* were cities in embryo. Great attention was paid to forestry, the cutting of timber, replanting, and the preservation of wild animals—account of the game poached had to be sent to the Emperor. Every May the foresters had to try to exterminate all the young wolves.

One small, but interesting connection with Gaul has come down to us; trophies of the Chase were always much prized by the Gallic tribes as a sign of prowess, antlers and skulls being fixed to the doors of houses as a proof of the owner's skill; hence, probably, comes our custom to nail a pad on the kennel door or hang a fox's brush in the front hall! The Gaul shown hunting opposite has his horse decorated with the tails of wolves.

Another familiar thing to emerge into the light of written history with Charlemagne—marking a connection with Egypt, Ancient Greece, Rome and Aryan civilisation of Central Asia—is the idea of reserving certain areas as hunting ground which in a later England was to take the form of Parks. In his *History of English Deer Parks* Shirley quotes Pliny, that "at an early age in Gaul ancient Princes had enclosures of oak and cork trees in which to keep for hunting red deer, wild boar, fallow deer, roe and oryx," identified by Shirley more correctly with the aurochs or wild cattle.

We know that in Asia walled enclosures, or "Paradises," had been in vogue among ruling classes since the times of the early Assyrians and Persians. It is likely that the custom may have reached France through some racial connection far back into the past to the Aryans of Central Asia—hunting customs being ever

Gauls hunting. (Note type of bit, the bearskin as saddle and the wolf tails or "sterns.")



among the most conservative habits of peoples ; we can only guess at the probabilities, as Charlemagne undoubtedly enjoyed the slaughter of huge herds of game driven into enclosures, natural or composed of nets, bonfires, palisades, etc. This practice of enclosing forest land for hunting continued in France till the Middle Ages ; essentials being good water-supplies and sufficient food-bearing trees—such as arbutus, beech and oak mast. It is only likely that Britain of the time followed the custom of other Gallic-speaking peoples, and there were game preserves in various parts of the country.

Of the early Saxon's hunting customs there is little known, save that their hunting grounds and forests seem to have been open ground and not enclosures. The greater part of Britain consisted of vast woods called by the Saxons *Wealds*, such as the Weald of Kent, Andrea's weald or wold. Certainly the great Canute—the English Charlemagne and ruler of all the North Sea countries—made his word into a law : “ And I will that every man be entitled to his hunting in wood and in field on his own possession and let everyone forgo my hunting ; take notice where I will have it untrespassed on under penalty of the full wite.” This is clear evidence that long before the Norman Conquest it was then the custom for men to hunt on their own land and for kings to have their private preserves. Of that more anon.

IV

The old chroniclers report that the Wessex King Alfred was “ a mighty hunter ” ; Bede says that “ at the age of fifteen the young prince was versed in all kinds of hunting and was better on his feet than any young man of his age.” Alfred at an early age was regarded as an “ ardent huntsman living an outdoor life.” (G. P. Baker, *The Fighting Kings of Wessex*.) As is often the case with the finest type of sportsman, Alfred was also one of the best educated young men of his time ; from him came the enlightenment of his people, the saving of their minds as well as their bodies.

It is an interesting and often forgotten fact that Alfred as a small boy of four first accompanied his father to Rome, and then again two years later. They rode there, in leisurely stages, across France and Italy ; it is highly probable that the meaning of the Past must have soaked into the mind of this intelligent small boy. On their way home they stopped at the Court of Charles the Bold, reigning king of the West Franks—he in whose person represented all that there was left of the traditions of Rome. This Charles

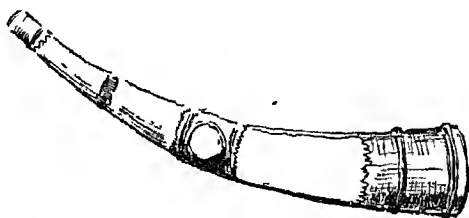
was the grandson of the great Charlemagne, and now Alfred's father married, as his second wife, Judith, the daughter of the Frankish king. There can hardly have been another English king who, before he was ten years old, had twice visited Rome. Before he was out of childhood Alfred had seen Frank, Burgundian and Gaul, Lombard, Tuscan and Roman and had heard them speak with their own tongues. The observation of a child is keen, wide and unprejudiced. What he sees is never forgotten; and these journeys to other lands, conversations with other people, are surely part of the secrets of Alfred's later character. Rome itself, the city, was in those days comparatively intact; not indeed undamaged by war and decay, but still so near to its ancient state that to a child—and perhaps to any Englishman of the day—it must have seemed a wonder of glories and magnificence. Alfred was the founder of the English—and he was in contact at an early age with Rome through personal contact, and with Charlemagne through his step-mother, Judith, Princess of the Franks, great grand-daughter of Charlemagne.

A characteristic story is told which has crept into almost every school book in the land, how young Alfred and his brother admired a book of English poems belonging to their step-mother and that she promised to give it to whichever of them would learn it first. The book was won by the twelve-year-old Alfred. What is not so generally known is that Charlemagne also had once collected a book of ancient Frankish poems. What they were we have no idea, alas—but family tastes last through generations and we have in this story of Alfred direct evidence of the influence of Charlemagne on the mind of the young prince. We can only guess that the poems were likely to have been "robust and dramatic tales," whose main motives consisted of doing what no one else dared to do and of "dying in the last ditch."

Modelled on the ideals of Rome and Charlemagne, Anglo-Saxon England gradually developed, influenced again and again by foreign ideas, sometimes for the good and often for bad. Dr. Stubbs suggests that kings so well acquainted with the Continent as Ethelred, Canute and Edward the Confessor, could hardly have failed to introduce into England the institutions of Chivalry, then springing up in every country. In spite of popular conceptions Chivalry is nowhere mentioned as a Norman invention. William of Malmesbury describes the knighting of Athelstan by his grandfather Alfred the Great "with a purple garment set with gems and a Saxon sword with a golden sheath." "Knighthood" can have been no new thing then in England, but English

knighthood seems to have had more spiritual and religious significance than on the Continent.

And here we ought to make mention of two great patron saints of hunting—Saints Hubert and Eustace. They are often confused, but the legends about them suggest two different personalities. Saint Hubert is said to have been born in 656, son of the Duke of Aquitaine, and to have been so keen on hunting that he hunted on Good Friday 683, but that just as he was blowing his horn at the death of a superb ten-pointer, he saw a vision of the stag alive with a luminous cross between its antlers and heard a voice reproaching him for hunting on the anniversary of the Saviour's death. Promising to amend his ways he went into the Church, and eventually became Bishop of Liège. The legend about the martyred Saint Eustace is similar, save that it was the Saviour's head he saw between the antlers. All through the Middle Ages artists delighted to portray the two hunting saints with horses and hounds—of the artist's day, never their own, but none the less interesting. Dürer's "St. Hubert" is so well known, but in Plate IX I give a delightful example of a lesser known version of the favourite legend of St Hubert. Of course, there are no contemporary representations of him, in fact he did not become really famous until he was canonised some two hundred years after his death on the 3rd of November, 837, a day still venerated by French *veneurs*. His body was interred at the Abbey of Andain in the Forest of Ardennes, near where he had seen the vision, and a visit to what became known as the famous Abbey of St. Hubert was one of the most popular pilgrimages throughout the Middle Ages. Thence came a celebrated French hound, of which more anon.



*An ivory "oliphant" said to be St. Hubert's
preserved at the Abbey of St. Hubert, Namur.*

Hunting, as the practice of war, was one of the essential bulwarks of Chivalry. It developed along with the other customs of Feudalism in the successive generations between the reign of Charlemagne and Edward III. A knight must always be a skilled *veneur*. But Saxon England, before the Norman Con-

quest, no doubt lagged a little behind Continental customs in that hunting was not a sport, though enjoyable it was practised like war—of stern necessity to keep the wolf from the door, and to fill the pot ; as Mr. G. M. Trevelyan describes life at that time in his delightful *History of England* :

“ In the main, life was an outdoor affair for rich and poor, a constant hand-to-hand struggle of a hardy folk with untamed nature. In the intervals of peace, when neither public war nor private blood-feud were disturbing the district, the thegn and his personal retainers laboured at spearing and netting the wolves and foxes, and keeping down the deer, hares, rabbits and wild fowl, if the crops were to be saved and the larders well stocked with meat. Hunting was always a pleasure, but it was not then a sport, it was a duty, which, like the sterner duty of war, devolved more and more on the thegn and his attendants, as functions became more specialised. But every freeman could still hunt on his own land, and it is probable that many serfs and thralls suffered no rebuke in taking game off the limitless waste, some were employed for no other purpose. It was still a hard struggle to make head against the forest and its denizens. Landlords were not yet tempted to strain their authority on behalf of game preservation for the game could still preserve itself only too well.”

In Wales and the West the old British hunting customs were carried on for what Matthew Arnold calls “ first great needs of our poor mortality—lodging, food and raiment.”

How did they hunt in Alfred's England ? Bear skins, wolf and fox pelts upholstered any better-to-do Englishman's house, and no doubt each skin used as a blanket on the bed, or thrown over a rough seat to make it less hard, or hung against the rough walls to make them less draughty, had a story. Bears, wolves, martens, wild cats and foxes are not easy to come by when hunting weapons are a spear, a sword and the short-bow. Probably much could be got with traps, pitfalls, and perhaps poisoned bait in the winter months—but even that sort of hunting entailed skill, perseverance and endurance. It is practically certain that in Saxon England hunting was regarded as a young man's duty. It was done on foot, though a few may have ridden to the place of meeting.¹ It is significant that before the Conquest wolves had been practically exterminated by order of the Saxon kings—especially Edgar (956).

An Anglo-Saxon of importance walked, and was always proud of the speed of his legs ; but from the nature of things it is doubtful whether after he had left his early youth behind him he either cared or had the time to spend in “ chasing wild animals.”

¹ The word “ ride ” is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word “ *rad*,” meaning “ to be conveyed ”. At that time there was no English equivalent for “ *caballero*,” “ a mounted man ”—“ *knight* ” was not yet a well-defined term in the British Isles to denote a gentleman.

In fact, there is every evidence to the contrary. All men then hunted for food or the luxury of fresh meat. The flight of the beast is now an integral part of the sport; then, with the primitive weapons of offence, it was a calamity. Who with the sight of their dinner running away gives a chance or any law to the hunted beast? Without a chance or any law to the hunted there is no sport. Hence old English hunting was not a sport. Sport is derived from the old Latin-Norman *se disportare*, "to amuse oneself"—a hungry man does not wish to be amused! The word game derives from the Anglo-Saxon *gamen*, sport; from the Danish *gammen*, joy, mirth. Is it somehow connected with *gammon*, the hog's hind leg, and the mirth occasioned when the hounds caught the wild porker by the hind leg? Hunting seems closely allied, via Anglo-Saxon *huntian*, to capture, with Teutonic *hunhru*, or hunger.

Bears, wolves, etc., were not the choicest food. What did the English prefer to hunt? The answer is probably wild boar or fallow deer. Wherever there was suitable country, i.e. plenty of beech mast and acorns, there was likely to be wild swine. Young pigs were run down with hounds, and old ones probably could be surrounded and killed, much as was done in Ancient Greece.

There is evidence of a demand for good hounds in Anglo-Saxon days; Athelstan levied as tribute from a defeated king of Wales "sharp scented dogs fit for hunting wild beasts"; and Strutt quotes from William of Malmesbury that even Edward the Confessor, who despised all secular interests, "delighted to follow a pack of swift hounds in the pursuit of game and to cheer them on with his voice." The Laws of Howel the Good, King of South Wales in the tenth century, prove that at that time in the West there were several recognised breeds of hounds—large "*gellgi*," dun-coloured buckhounds, *milgi*, or greyhounds, trackers, harriers, etc., and it is interesting that the value of a trained greyhound was exactly half that of a trained buckhound. (The chief huntsman's worth, by the way, was six-score-and-six kine and he had various privileges, such as exemption from creditors provided he was out of bed and had his boots on!) For the most part, however, the English hounds of the day are spoken of as "a couple slipped on the view," which does not sound as if they were often, if ever, worked as a pack. In fact, all experience in surprising wild beasts at a disadvantage points to the fact that canine companions are seldom good "pot-hunters." They are invaluable, however, to run down and hold a wounded animal.¹ A couple held in reserve in the rear, and loosed on a shout or at the sound of a horn when arrow or light spear had just missed a vital spot, might mean the saving of the day and the meat!

¹ As the deer-hounds used two generations ago by stalkers in Scotland

From such may have originated English bull-dogs and bull-terriers.

Red deer also were hunted; "tall deer-hounds" being specifically mentioned in 1045. Athelstan Atheling, son of Ethelred II, refers in his will to his *heal deor*, or "tall deer," i.e. red deer—which seems to imply that there were also smaller, or fallow deer, in England at that time. Red deer were indigenous to the British Isles, though fallow deer seem to have abounded since early times. It had been thought that the latter also were indigenous to these Islands, but Professor Owen says that no fossils of fallow deer have been found, though plenty of their bones, etc., have been discovered during excavations on the sites of Early Iron Age, i.e. Celtic, dwellings.



Fallow buck in an English park.

There are several varieties of fallow deer—the very dark variety being generally believed to have been imported into England from Norway by that ardent hunter and busybody James I, while the spotted kind were said to have come originally from "Barberie"—or more certainly from Greece and Southern Europe. (Bell's *History of British Quadrupeds*, 1835.) There is little doubt that our Saxon English ancestors, gentle and simple, to whom fresh meat in winter-time was a luxury, were very partial to fat buck, however obtained. The word "fallow" probably refers to the prevailing light colour; as Shakespeare: "How does your fallow grey-hound, Sire?" Herds of fallow deer roamed the unsettled country—of which such a large part of Britain then consisted, and no doubt whenever they could penetrating into the valley farms at night and in hard weather doing irreparable damage to growing crops and young trees. Even to-day it is very difficult to get rid of fallow deer that have escaped out of some ornamental ground. With guns, hides and snares it is no easy matter to destroy them. Even in the confines

of a park it is hard to get near enough and shoot them—they are so clever and wary, seldom giving an opportunity for a second shot, going mad with fright, piling themselves over a quarry or crashing through palings sooner than stop to be shot at. Our ancestors probably used to stalk deer in the early morning, but it cannot have been easy to stalk carrying a bow strung at the ready or to get near enough to throw a javelin. One favourite early method was to hunt them by stratagem, driving them into a sort of ambushade called a “deer haye” or *haie*—often occurring in place names like Hayes in Middlesex, Frenchaye near Bristol, and many Hay Woods throughout the English countryside. “Hayes” were conveniently penned out in suitable clearings, or in a natural ravine fenced on a hunting day by thorns and plashed hurdles—hence *haie* or the *hedge*—which was ambushed by archers and spearmen. This was a method much used on the Continent during the Middle Ages, and is still used in parts of Asia to-day, as in Plate VII, which is of a method for catching deer in Chosen, very similar to the *haie*.

The hunt began by sending men round to beat the coverts, and drive the game with the aid of hounds and horns into the enclosure. Horns were used in Saxon England, neither to call hounds nor to convey information in the hunting-field—as would become the custom in the Middle Ages—but solely to frighten the game. They were of the simplest type, usually made from ox horns and they emitted a single pitched note, varied only by blowing it long or short.

The same “haye” was not used every time—fallow deer being certainly too wary for the same stratagem to have often succeeded; generally there were several “hayes” belonging to one district. From the making of “hayes” the construction of “deer parks” was but a step. Thorns do not make a lasting barrier; man is ever a lazy animal, yet will take infinite pains to save himself or his descendants trouble in the long run—hence permanent enclosures or *parci* became a logical development of *haies*. Later generations would make political gain out of the iniquities of the Conqueror in enclosing game reserves—such as the sixteenth-century chronicler Holingshead, who complained that “a twentieth parte of the realme is employed upon deer and conies”—but many of these enclosures date back to the earliest times. When Domesday Book was compiled there were already existing thirty-one Royal Parks in Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Hereford and Shropshire, and seventy *haies* are mentioned—in Worcestershire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Cheshire—generally in groups of three or five. (Shirley's *Deer Parks*.)

As Mr. G. M. Trevelyan writes of pre-Conquest England :

"What a place it must have been, that virgin woodland wilderness of all England, ever encroached on by innumerable peasant clearings, but still harbouring God's plenty of all manner of beautiful birds and beasts, and still rioting in a vast wealth of trees and flowers—treasures which modern man, careless of his best inheritance, has abolished and is still abolishing, as fast as new tools and methods of destruction can be invented, though even now the mere wrecks of old England still make a demi-paradise of the less inhabited parts of the island."

In certain respects the conditions of pioneer life in the Shires of Saxon England and the Danelaw were not unlike those of North America and Australia in the nineteenth century—the lumberman with his axe, the log shanty in the clearing, the draught oxen, the horses to ride to the nearest farm five miles across the wilderness, the weapon ever laid close to hand beside the axe and the plough, the rough word and ready blow, and the good comradeship of the frontiersmen. And in Saxon England, as in later America, there were also the larger, older and more settled townships, constantly catching up and assimilating the pioneers who had first started human life in some deep "dene" of the woodlands. Every one of the sleepy, leisurely, garden-like villages of rural England was once a pioneer settlement, an outpost of man planted and battled for in the midst of Nature's primeval realm.

The work of colonisation and deforestation in later Saxon England was carried on under feudal leadership. "We wonder not," wrote King Alfred, "that men should work in timber-felling and in carrying and building, for a man hopes that if he has built a cottage on laenland of his lord, with his lord's help, he may be allowed to lie there awhile, and hunt and fowl and fish, and occupy the laenland as he likes, until through his lord's grace he may perhaps some day obtain book-land and permanent inheritance."

The important fact emerges that the right to hunt on his own property in any way he likes is a custom deeply ingrained in the mind of the English landowner large or small, forfeiture of which right he would strenuously oppose. Our country life remains closely bound with the past, many customs dating back to long before the Conquest. Thus it comes about that, despite the efforts of Norman-French kings, hunting has remained a democratic sport in the face of manifold changes in the State, because it is an institution as old as our nation, coincident with our original ideas on land tenure—besides which Feudalism, Industry, Capitalism, Revolution, even Christianity and the Kingship are quite new. In France, on the other hand, where the Gallic-Frankish-Norman idea grew up of hunting existing solely on the

Royal prerogative, it would practically exist so long as Royalty lasted and no longer ¹

In England, "rights" founded on ancient custom are seldom eradicated—as the early Fathers discovered when they introduced Christianity; it was best to compromise with the English, by allowing mistletoe and holly reminiscent of Paganism to be incorporated with Christmas, rather than try to entirely abolish old customs.

¹ This is not quite true now as hunting as a sport has been revived in many parts of modern France and in remote parts of Brittany etc., it has never ceased, but French hunting cannot be compared with English in any terms of democracy

CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND THE NORMAN KINGS: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW AND ORDER IN ALL THINGS AND THE STRUGGLE WITH FEUDALISM FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

"He loved the tall stags as if he had been their father."

OLD CHRONICLER.

I

IT HAS BEEN FAIRLY DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED BY HISTORIANS that the English upper classes—particularly the Court—had been "Normanised" for some years previous to the Conquest. That is to say, the customs of Continental Chivalry had become established in England. But as might be expected in a country with a different historical past, yet with racial affinities, there were many points at issue between our type of Chivalry and that across the Channel. Its relation to hunting being our chief concern, the most interesting source of comparison existent is the piece of historical embroidery known as the Bayeux Tapestry. The authorship of this needlework is unknown, but it is ascribed to the direction of Matilda of Flanders, wife of the Conqueror, and its genuine contemporary authenticity is established. There were, of course, few written books of the day: and most of them refer to Laws and only indirectly are concerned with the life and pleasures of people. After the twelfth century, illustrations in handwritten books begin to provide us with nearly all we want to know about the riding and hunting of the times, but in the eleventh century any attempt at pictures was too crude to be of any value. Therefore contemporary needlework is invaluable.

The Bayeux Tapestry portrays six hundred and twenty-three persons, two hundred and two horses and mules, and fifty-five hounds, all worked on linen in eight different-coloured worsteds. From it we can see something of the differences between Norman and English hunting customs which culminated in struggles over the Forest laws introduced by the Norman kings.

It is perhaps generally known that the Normans were clean-shaven men and the English mostly bearded, but the Tapestry also shows such interesting details as that English horses of the

time were hog-maned—possibly a relic of Roman custom—while those ridden by the Normans had flowing manes and tails. Incidentally, the Norman horses appear considerably larger, being additional support to the tradition that at the time of the Conquest the Normans had bigger and better horses than the English. William himself is probably shown riding “the Spanish horse” which was the gift of his friend Alfonso of Spain.



Norman knights and archers. (From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

No doubt the Normans collected the best horses in Europe for their enterprise. They had been good horse-breeders from the dawn of history. At an early stage, when “Beowulf” was composed, the Scandinavian horses seem to have been mostly dun-coloured, “apple-dun,” i.e. dappled, and white—proving that good blood had already penetrated to the North. In Norse mythology Odin owned the eight-legged grey, “Sleipnir,” and the god Heimdal rode a yellow-maned horse called “Gold-topped.” “Raven” and “Sooty” were among the names of Scandinavian horses at an early date, showing that black horses were already known and the Norsemen appreciative of good horses; but for the most part, down to modern times, duns, piebalds and greys remain typical colours of Scandinavian horses, and particularly duns with black manes, tails and legs. The Normans certainly introduced into England that large and heavy breed of horse which had been steadily developing in North Western Europe during twelve centuries for the purpose of carrying armed men.

William the Conqueror did his utmost to improve English horses by introducing Norman, Spanish and Flemish blood. At the time of the Conquest the value of an English horse was said to be thirty shillings and that of a mare or colt twenty shillings; evidently compared to those imported they were small. The Normans later introduced their large horses to Ireland, which crossed at this early date with the typical Celtic breeds has helped to produce the Irish hunter; Irish limestone is probably responsible for the typical hard flat bone of Irish horses compared to the rounded softness of the Shires and Suffolk Punches.

In the Bayeux Tapestry the hounds following at Harold’s heels are shown to be prick-eared breeds, somewhat of bull-terrier and greyhound types—possibly descendants of those “famous dogs of the Agassens breed,” and the swift *vertagus*, which “only gentlemen might keep” in Britain. Both sorts of hounds wear collars

with rings for leashes, showing that they were slipped for hunting, or more rightly, coursing and holding.

In several places on the Tapestry Harold is portrayed with a falcon on his wrist. This introduces us to the sport nowadays popularly called Hawking, i.e. hunting with the aid of a trained bird—for centuries practised both as a science and as a pastime. Falconry—to give the sport its proper name—undoubtedly came to us originally from the East. Previous to the invention of steel bows and shot-guns, the only satisfactory method of obtaining birds for table was by means either of trained hawks or of netting them at night.



King Harold hunting. (From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

Hawking is known to have been a general and popular pastime in Anglo-Saxon England,¹ whereas in France at the same date "Falconerie" was regarded in the light of a science and strictly preserved for those of highest degree, emphasising yet again one of the fundamental differences between the ideas of the Scandinavian English and the Scandinavian Frank. And thus—as might be expected—the Conqueror's efforts to restrict on French lines the flying of hawks in England came to be regarded as another instance of his unjustifiable interference with the "rights" of the people, a sense of grievance which would reach such a pitch that 120 years later Henry III was constrained to allow "every freeman to have eyries of hawks, falcons and eagles in his own woods, with heronries also."

At the Conquest all men's clothes were either those for war or for everyday life—which included hunting; there was no special sporting kit. Saddles had just become general on the Continent, imparting the feeling of security hitherto lacking and which from this time contributes to the superiority of mounted men and the importance of riding. Stirrups were sometimes used, but were not universal additions till the end of the century. We can also note that spurs of the time were always of the plain "prick" type. Men mounted—like American Indians—from the off-side, because of the lance carried in the right hand. Later on swords

¹ The all-powerful Church was also affected; Wulsig and Walnoth, Abbots of the great monastery of St. Albans in the ninth century, were notorious for neglecting their duties for "love of hawk and hound."

hanging from hips on the left side compelled horsemen to mount from the near side; and from that habit we mount from the near-side to this day.

The English knights in the Tapestry carry heavy axes, maces, swords and javelins—which were short, light, throwing spears—while the Normans have long spears and many short-bowmen in their ranks. (*The Bayeux Tapestry*, R. F. Powke.) It is certain that Englishmen did not then fight on horseback, though they rode to the Battle of Hastings. They preferred to fight on foot behind a hedge of spears and stakes. The Englishmen shown going hunting in the Bayeux Tapestry carry the big hunting-knives, typical of the day, also javelins and swords—for use at close quarters. The Norman soldiers are shown carrying bows and arrows, but the bows are short-bows, not long-bows. The short-bow, the most ancient form of bow, which was used in early mediæval times by foot-soldiers, was longer retained by mounted men because, of course, they could not use the long-bow from a horse. The only English Bowman shown is also carrying the ordinary Saxon short-bow. Payne Galloway in *The Cross Bow* says that the bow was little used by the Saxons at the time of the Conquest—their chief weapons at that date being spears and axes, both of which they cast at an enemy when he came sufficiently near. The art of throwing is still deemed typical of Englishmen!

It is probable that initiators of the mode of the Bayeux Tapestry first introduced into England stag-hunting proper, i.e. with "running hounds" hunting the line by scent to view. The Norman French always preferred this sort of hunting to the huge "drives" which were to remain typical of the country east of the Rhine. To the French, true descendants of the sport-loving Gauls, the quantity of game slaughtered was already a secondary matter, the working of the hound and the knowledge of *Venerie* ever came first. To the Teuton, perhaps, meat was necessarily of greater importance than to the Frenchman, dependent on his well-managed estate and domestic animals. The Teuton was good at woodcraft, but he never craved for unnecessary exercise or prided himself on his endurance riding to hounds. This was typically Frankish-Norman and aristocratic at that. Normanised English became a blend of all these characteristics.

II

William I believed implicitly in Law and Order on the plan of Charlemagne from the biggest affair to the smallest detail. Consequently hunting was among the many subjects he dealt with drastically. The English were ever far too happy-go-lucky

and ill-organised in everything. The Conqueror was an organiser to his spurred heel and a "dietator" of the modern type.

The importance of the Norman Conquest to the development of England can hardly be exaggerated, not so much from the point of view of any radical changes effected in the everyday life of the people, but on account of the new set of ideas which it crystallised. For one thing, the composition of the English language was definitely settled. The Coronation of Norman William became the pattern for the ceremony of the Crowning of successive Kings of England down to the present day. Many of our most typical and most cherished customs can be traced to his initiation—the idea behind "Income Tax" and "Means Test"—while from William I most of the great forces of English history—royalty, landed aristocracy, the Church, local institutions—proceed on their course of development through many a momentous crisis, but without substantial break. Before the Conquest we witness the stunted growth of a Teutonic state which might have resulted in something more akin to the formation of Denmark or Norway than to what England has come to be. The eleventh century may be said to be the watershed in the development of English society. In the amalgamation of the Old English and of the French elements, the Scandinavian factor was reduced to second place in the life of the country at large. Our written Law grew from the political centralisation following the Conquest.

The new Norman lord got his title and claimed his rights, not by separate grants and new titles, but by a general assignment of all the rights and titles of his Saxon predecessors, "of everything as held in his place by Godwin, Edric, etc., at the time of King Edward." At the same time French Law was imported wholesale, including the classification of persons according to their status, and legal policies, punishments, military tenure, landownership were affected by views and rules which may be traced ultimately to Frankish Law as promulgated by Charlemagne.

The Feudal system became predominant. It represented a contract of personal service, resulting in military, clerical or economic obligations. In country districts the mainstay of the system was the manor. Domesday Book shows this institution in full vigour, although not yet in the completeness and legal precision of a later period. The principal element of an eleventh-century manor was the lord, the representative of feudal aristocracy in the place. The manor appears in one sense as the district surrounding the lord's hall; in another it was a mansion and district in which there lived a lord, the personal follower and officer of the King. The lord was not primarily a person responsible for taxes, nor merely a landowner; he was a man in authority over a district connected with his estate and this authority he

wielded in consequence of a contract of feudal service. Manorial lordship was in full growth in Saxon times, but the rights derived from it were very much subdivided and shifting. The Norman Conquest and the formation of Common Law contributed to consolidate manorial organisations and to make them prevalent over the whole of England and Wales.

In understanding the growth of modern hunting institutions we must not lose sight of this feudal aspect, which even to-day runs a continuous thread back through the Ages in the faded tapestry of history. Without the Law and Order produced under Feudalism there would have been no hunting or Field Sports such as we enjoy to-day. The story is a long one, difficult to disentangle from the old records, for, as the Report of the Select Committee on the Indian White Paper (1934) pointed out—"many British customs are based so far back into antiquity before the growth of the written word, that no man can quote exact chapter and verse for a custom that is as old as the people themselves."

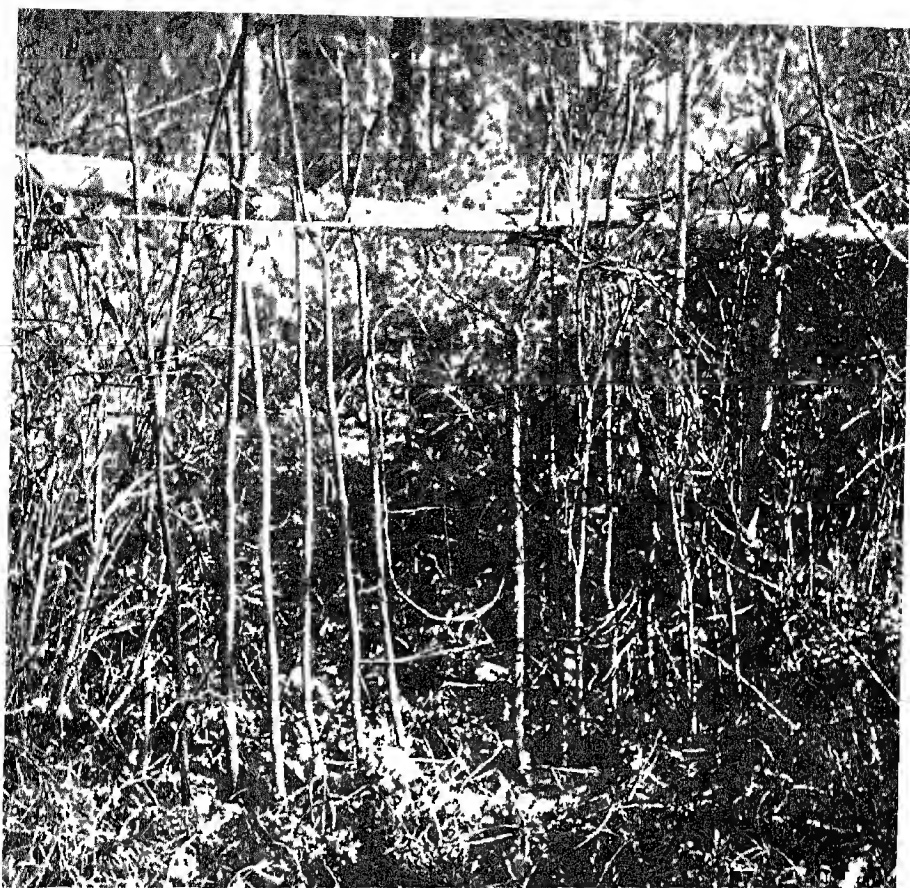
The Conqueror loved hunting; so did his Norman followers who were to become the new landed aristocracy, and so did the English people, but ideas on the subject were not identical. Consequently interests clashed. The native English were then as now democratic, loyal, disliking privilege, fond of old ways, resentful of harm to their crops, fond of the Chase, enjoying a kill, touchy of their rights. The Conqueror clearly visualised the extinction of game at some no distant future unless the happy-go-lucky Saxon English customs were controlled. Practical, Frenchified Viking as he was by birth, he immediately devised a scheme to prevent such a catastrophe. I think he valued hunting for practical reasons as well as for what may be called selfish pleasure in the Chase. It is more than probable that in the privilege of Hunting he saw a method of keeping turbulent lords—who, remember, represented his offensive and defensive Army, his Civil Service, his Police and his unpaid Agents—occupied, fit and hardy. In the then prevalent view of Continental chivalry War was inevitable, and it was a man's chief duty—particularly a knight's—to fit himself for War. Hunting has ever been the best practice-ground and school for War (we shall meet this point of view again and again in history). Moreover, during an Age when there was no great over-production in anything, the food reserve represented by the wild life was of considerable value. "For ages still to come a large proportion of the people's food consisted of the wild game of all sorts, and the half-wild herds of swine in the forest. If Englishmen had been faced in the tenth century to live chiefly on such grain as they could grow in the island, those primitive agriculturalists would

(Top picture) "*The cause of extinction of game in Manchuria, 1935. A long fence is constructed with nooses spaced at intervals along it*"—similar to the "*haies*" of Saxon-England.

(By permission of G. V. Heil and "*The Field*")

(Lower) *Gaston de Foix hunting the hart with running hounds and greyhound.*

(M.S. 616. Bib. Nat., Paris.)



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR & NORMAN KINGS 97

have been hard put to it to live at all." (Trevelyan, *History of England*.)

William I with a soldier's eye summed up the situation in a glance and dealt with it with statesmanlike ingenuity. By the Common Law of the land wild animals only became property by being killed or captured. Alive they could not be dealt with, except by those on the spot—generally inimical to them. Even William the Conqueror could not hope to enforce general Game Laws throughout England and Wales—remember the chief written statutes referring to the preservation of Game do not date back before the nineteenth century (Night Poaching Acts, 1828, 1841; Game Act, 1831; Ground Game Acts, 1880, 1906; Protection of Wild Birds, etc.). The Common Law based on English customs could not be altered, but one custom gave him materials sufficient for his purpose. He added ruthlessly to the existing Forests and to the laws governing them.

A deal of nonsense has been written and repeated regarding this effort of the Conqueror, and though some of his descendants were undoubtedly selfish, over-severe and blameworthy, to William I we undoubtedly owe the fact (1) that we have any wild animals left to hunt and shoot, (2) that their preservation is admitted by custom and almost stronger than Law. Most people have a hazy idea that William I despoiled thousands of good Englishmen, turning them out of great tracts of country and planted the space thus created with trees. This is far from the truth.

First we must understand about the constitution of a Forest, as the meaning of the word has undergone alterations with the change in economic, political and social conditions of the people. To-day the word "forest" is generally confused with big woods, but it really designates a district preserved for hunting. In 1665 Manwood wrote: "The newest forest in England, except that of Hampton Court, is in Hampshire and is called the New Forest, and yet that Forest was made in the reign of William I and there is no other of which the beginning is mentioned in any History or record. The Forest Laws are likewise as ancient as the Forests, except some few which have been altered and made more beneficial to the subject by *Charter de Forestæ* and other later statutes."

Technically a covert is a "thicket full of trees touching each other," and a wood a place where the trees are thinly scattered apart. The Saxon *walds*, "where wolves and foxes did harbour," became our English "wealds" and then woods, often being at the same time parts of a forest or chase. Wolves were mostly destroyed by King Edgar about A.D. 959, and as Manwood

*A hunting Charter of free warren
granted by Edward I to Sir Roger
Pilkington, 1291.*

(By permission of Sir T. M. S. Pilkington, Bt)

quaintly puts it: "—and those and such ravenous beasts being destroyed, the residue became beasts of pleasure as well as delicate meat and the kings of this land began to be careful for the preservation of them. In order thereto to privilege certain woods and places so that no man may hunt or destroy them there and thus the said places became forests."

Originally, the word "forest" had denoted the *voorst*, i.e. the segregated property of the king or leader of the tribe. Towards the end of the eighth century it referred to all the Royal woods in which the right to hunt was reserved by the king, but other rights—such as the right to cut wood, clear for pasture—remained free to all. Towards the end of the ninth century Forest meant a large tract of land, including woods as well as pastures and whole villages, on which not only the rights of Chase were reserved to the king, but also other rights, often even the activities of the people living in it being restricted. "Forest" then became a legal term, applied to a large tract of land governed by special Forest Law, of which the Royal prerogative, "the right to hunt," was the basis. The forests of Dean, Windsor, Epping, Exmoor, Rockingham, Sherwood, Inglewood in Cumberland, Wrekin in Shropshire were such legal districts set aside by kings for hunting long before the New Forest was thought of.

In *English Society in the 11th Century* (1908), Professor Vinogradoff points out the immense extent of territory covered by woods in the England of that day and their value to the community: "The woods provided timber for building, repairs, etc., and 'pannage' for the keep of pigs, etc., 'wood for two pigs' being constantly referred to in Domesday Book. The *haiæ* indicate another aspect of forest-life which was certainly not the least important one—the woods were mainly hunting-grounds and had to be preserved as such. In order to keep game and deer the ordinary device was to enclose the hunting-ground by permanent hedges; besides these, temporary hedges were raised during the hunting seasons for drives. The enclosed tract itself received the name of *haia* from the fact of its being within the *haiæ* or hedges of Saxon days." The old English surname Hayward meant the forest officer in charge thereof.

There is little doubt that at the time of the Conquest the woods of England represented capital value far beyond that of to-day. In food reserve alone, the value of its wild animals would be considerable at a time when there certainly was no over-production of livestock, particularly for food in the winter.¹

¹ Even in the time of Edward III Queen Philippa received supplies of venison from her forest-parks and chases, even when she was in Antwerp in 1338. Philippa hunted at Marlborough and Cosham, on one occasion having a fall and dislocating her shoulder.

A far-seeing genius and organiser of great ability, William I visualised the extinction of game at no very distant future if things were allowed to continue in the happy-go-lucky state of the past. It was only the fact that communications were slow and difficult, and England under the Saxon kings split up into large earldoms which had little to do with each other, and the population was narrowed down to villages and lands in common, leaving huge tracts of wild country—similar to the so-called bush in Australia or the veldt in Africa to-day—which the birds and beasts had to themselves very largely, that had saved them from extinction. Men did not penetrate these outback hills, moors, forests, fens and marshes, preferring the security of the valley communities in the sparsely populated wolds and downs. The alternative means of transport at the time were rough native ponies or Shank's mare—both relatively unsuitable for regular hunting, unless on expeditions organised by the great or the exceptionally active. But even these difficulties had not prevented the virtual extinction of wolves in the time of Edgar Atheling, who gave a subsidy for wolf masks and levied a toll of wolf skins from one of the defeated kings of Wales, resulting in their extinction. In the England as visualised by the Conqueror, it was going to be safe to go abroad, facilities for travel would abound under the new laws making the lord of the manor responsible for the King's Peace and the Law of the Land, men would no longer fear to live away from the little villages and townships where they had tended to congregate for safety under the Saxon kings. The outback woods would no longer be safe from depredation—neither the *vert*, i.e. the "green wood," the growing trees, nor the *venison*, i.e. all the animals representing food living therein.

It is likely that, practical statesman as he was, the Conqueror did not consider it practicable to enforce stricter game laws in the face of an obstinate people, steeped in tradition and customs, in order to gain his point—the preservation of venison and its natural haunts. But he made use of the aforementioned, old-established English custom vesting "forests" in Royal hands, at least so far as hunting therein was permitted. So far back as 1027 Canute (1017-1035) had written: "I will that all men eschue my hunting"; he was said to have been the first King to set "bounds" and limits to his forests. Canute and William were wise; it is always wise in ruling England to make use of custom and precedent.

The bounds of a Forest were defined by well-known "marks," sometimes hill-tops, "tumps," natural stones, brooks, rivers, lakes and other landmarks—occasionally great trees, set-up stones, cross-roads, etc. The ancient "marks" can still be made out

with the help of place-names such as Mark Ash. *Meet*, *Meer*, *Mere* and *March* are always mark names. The difference of forest-life lay in the fact that as all within the forests belonged to the King, all who dwelt therein, men and beasts, were subject to his Forest Law and not to the Common Law of the land. This custom had grown up from time immemorial, long before Canute had started to write down the laws of England. It was only when the Conqueror imported the stricter interpretation of written Law based on Chaulmagne's code that "though the Forest lies open and not enclosed with any hedge, ditch, fence, pale or stone wall, yet in Law 'tis as strongly enclosed by these meets, marks and boundaries as if it were with a brick wall." People had dwelt therein from time immemorial also, and by grant of the King were given privileges from time to time subject to Forest Law of the day. Before the time of the Normans these Laws do not appear to have been irksome and were designed for the protection of the district as a forest, for "to destroy the woods, and to destroy the Forest itself . . . and so 'tis to convert the pasture into arable lands." Undoubtedly the dwellers in the Forest tended to try and extend their privileges by dint of necessity, through greed, or when the hand of Authority waxed loose—such as happened often under the Saxon kings.

The King's officers ruled the forest for him set up by a commission under the Great Seal. They were *regardors* or overseers of the Forest, the *foresters* sworn to preserve the venison, the *verderers* "of good estate" to look after the *vert*, and the *agistors* who were appointed by the King and had the power to try offenders against Forest Law—judgment being only passed by the Chief Justice in Eyre, always a peer of the realm, who held a "justice seat" every third year. To the *agistors* fees were paid for the use of herbage, etc.

Woods, wastes, etc., not subject to Forest Law and so not true Forest, were known as Chases. To them only Common Law applied; thus anyone killing a buck in a Chase not his own was fined under the usual Common Law for having property not his own, i.e. stolen. A Chase was similar to a Park, save that the park was enclosed and a chase was always open. Chases and parks did not have Royal officers such as verderers, foresters, regardors and agistors under the King, but only "keepers" to mind the *venison* and "woodwards" to see to the *vert*. No one could "impale a park" or "create a chase" without the King's permission,¹ though often, especially in later days, Kings gave that per-

¹ Richard I empowered Henry de Cornhill, a rich Londoner, to "enclose and impark" his woods at Langham, the same day that he empowered his neighbours, the Burgesses of Colchester, to "hunt the fox, the hare and the cat within their borders" (December 6th, 1189). The Langham Lodge coverts are familiar to this day to those who hunt within Essex and Suffolk.

mission for services rendered or for a fee paid. Such rights were valuable additions to any manor; manors provided taxation and kept the State going. Foresters are constantly mentioned in old documents as holding parks or warrens in a forest by the service of assisting the King out hunting, or watching over his forests, parks and warrens. This type of tenure was also seen in the lands of a great lord. An example comes down to us to-day—the Pewsey estate which was granted for services rendered to the King by a Pewsey and held on the condition a horn was blown. And Plate VIII, reproduced by the kind permission of Sir Thomas Pilkington, shows such a grant, an illuminated Charter of free Warren dated 1291, from Edward I to Sir Roger de Pilkington, probably the oldest Hunting Charter in existence. (For translation see Appendix II.)

A Warren, now regarded as for the keeping of cones, comes from the Norman-French word akin to Warrent, meaning a right given by the Crown to breed and keep game. Rabbits,¹ by the way, are assumed to have been introduced for this purpose in large numbers by the Normans (a bad deed!).

"Rights of chase and warren" could be, and frequently were, given to freeholders living in the forests by the King, and they could equally be taken away. The King might give permission to a well-beloved knight, burgess or abbot to hunt foxes, hares, roe deer, etc.—but he never gave *carte blanche* to hunt red deer. Edward III granted to his great friend Lord Montacute the almost unheard-of honour of hunting once a year in any of the Royal Forests, including those of Ettick and Selkirk in Scotland. But exceedingly few subjects ever gained the right of owning a Forest—among the exceptions being "time honoured Lancaster," who had the Forest of Knowsley, a Lord Abergavenny who held the Forest of St. Leonards in Sussex, the Duke of Buckingham that of Brecknock Hay, and Sir Richard Cromwell who got the grant of a Forest; but unless the grant also included a Justice Court it only amounted to a Chase, so remaining under Common Law.

Thus it was that at the time of the Conquest every man had the right to hunt wild animals or do whatever he thought best on his own land, subject to a few not very well-defined Game Laws, restrictions subject to the Common Law, so that anyone finding deer, wild boar, etc., on his land could hunt and exterminate them if he wished. And, moreover, even if the landowner tried to preserve them and other people without right hunted and killed them, the landowner could only sue poachers in the ordinary Court; with the result that offenders suffered only the usual penalty of the Common Law—a fine the value of the stolen

¹ Rabbits See Appendix III

property; and, of course, in most cases, as in poaching offences to-day, it was not easy to get convictions. Consequently, William the Conqueror's idea that game would quickly be exterminated in England was certainly justified.

According to Manwood's *Treatise on Forest Law*—written in 1665, at a time when the rights of the Crown regarding English forests were dying out—the ancient oath taken by all the inhabitants of a Forest at the age of twelve was as follows :

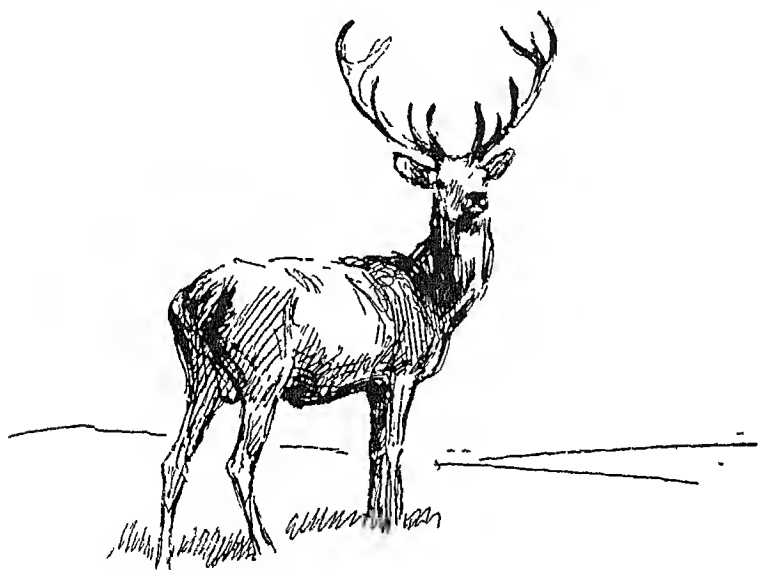
“ You shall true liegemen be
 Unto the King's Majestie
 Unto the Beasts of the Forest you shall do no hurt
 Nor to anything that does belong thereunto ,
 The offences of others you shall not conceal
 But to the utmost of your power you shall them reveal
 Unto the officers of the Forest,
 Or to them that may see them redrest ;
 All these things you shall see done,
 So help you God at this Holy Doom.”

Contrary to general impressions to-day it never was an offence in England to kill wild beasts outside the limits of the Forest; the only exception being a “ royal hart proclaimed ”—which was a stag which had been hunted by the King and had escaped death. On such occasions it was often customary for the King to order his officers of the Forest to make proclamation in all the local market towns in the district that a hart of such-and-such description was at large under his protection and was to be allowed to return to the neighbouring Forest without hurt. Anyone hunting him doing so at his peril and becoming answerable to the King and his officers. Richard I proclaimed such a hart royal on a famous occasion when he hunted a stag from Sherwood Forest to Barnesdale in Yorkshire—a distance of one hundred and eight miles.

Gradually, there grew up separate terms to designate the different wild animals. We have already noted that *venison*, from the French *venaison*, from the Latin *venatio*, a hunting, comprised the huntable denizens of the woods. The practice of Hunting with the Norman lords was known on the Continent as the Art of *Venerie*—of this more later. The so-called Beasts of the Forest comprised the hart and hind of the red deer, the hare and the wild boar. Wolves were also Beasts of Venery by the rules of Chivalry, but even in the days of Canute wolves in England had been almost destroyed or were deemed too dangerous to be given privileges, nor did he account foxes Beasts of the Chase. Though later on foxes were given the privilege of the Forest and could not be hurt therein, in the same way that the eggs of various birds could not be taken.

The Beasts of Chase were properly the buck and doe of the fallow deer, the roe-deer, and, later on, the fox. The Beasts and Fowls of Warren were the hare, the coney, the pheasant and the partridge—later on the bustard and the rail being added.

Thus it came about that after the Conquest a Forest in Great Britain, in the words of the old author, was "a certain territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest and chase and warren to rest and abide there in the safe protection of the King for his delight and pleasure; which territory of grounds so privileged is meered and bounded with unremovable marks, meers and boundaries either known by



A Royal Hart proclaimed.

matter of record or by prescription . . . with great coverts of *Vert* for the succour of the said beasts that there abide . . . and particular officers, laws and privileges belonging to the same, requisite for that purpose and proper only to a Forest and to no other place." When the Conqueror and his descendants proposed to add to the Royal Forests and to stiffen up Forest Law, it caused a struggle between the English people and their Norman sovereigns which finally culminated in the reign of John. As royal prerogatives fell from the weakened hands of kings torn by the factions which culminated in the Wars of the Roses, "forests" tended more and more to mean land in a natural condition covered with wood growth in distinction to open country, such as plains and downs.

III

The trouble lay in that before the Conquest there were no written laws of the Forest—the King could do what he liked. Canute and other kings punished offenders as they thought fit and as they could; these constitutions afterwards, by continuance of time, being taken for laws. (Yet even these laws were not certain before they were embodied in the various Forest Charters, the first of which was in 1217, in the reign of Henry III.) So the Conqueror, who “loved the tall stags as if he had been their father,” felt he had a fairly free hand to create a New Forest.

The King ever had the right to “afforest” land where he wished, that is to make certain districts subject to Forest restrictions. The old custom was that “if the King afforests woods or lands of other men, the latter are still allowed rights of common as formerly, within the new forest area—“Common” being the right which a man hath to feed or pasture his beasts in another man’s land.” Thus at once there would be grounds for trouble between those who felt themselves unjustly used and the King’s officers who carried out the unwritten laws of the forest among freeholders who were new to forest restrictions. Perhaps this was why William restricted himself to one New Forest—which, by the way, was the last but one forest ever made by an English king; the last being the small “new forest at Hampton” made by Henry VII.

Domesday Book reveals that there was little unoccupied waste land in the south of England. The Conqueror could not afford to go far afield from the then capital of England, Winchester, or Sarum, where he reviewed the whole of his army. His New Forest actually was on the foundations of an older forest called Ytene. It is now fairly definitely established that at no time was this area ever thickly populated and the stories of the Conqueror’s ruthless eviction of scores of freeholders for the purpose of making the Forest are probably gross exaggerations by his political opponents, though admittedly a piece of land therein valued in the time of Edward the Confessor for £363 became worth £129 during his reign, and the Conqueror’s ruthlessness in laying waste the North of England was regrettably true.

It was the increased penalties of the Forest Laws which led to the bitter strife between King and people. Probably many of these unwritten laws had fallen into abeyance during the troublous times before the Conquest and their revival and harsher application caused the greatest grievance. William the Conqueror planned for the future—building castles for safety where the lord, who was in fact as well as in theory the protector of his people, could live to hold the countryside for the King and under a King

who had sworn to keep the Laws of England and intended to make these Laws effective—as they never had been. It is a common fault of Englishmen to this day, to enjoy setting the Law at naught and defying authority unless they are in sympathy with the motive behind the law.

The Chief Justice of the Forest was always a peer and a member of the Privy Council. He had great authority, for he might punish all trespassers according to Forest Law, and hear and decide all claims as to parks, warrens, etc., within the forest. There was a vast difference between those who lived within and without the forest bounds. The Forest Courts were held every third year, to find out what, if any, offences had been committed within the forest, how the officers were doing their work, if any unfairly charged, etc. The Chief Justice had to "discover if there had been any hunting and by whom, decide questions of bounds and limits, coal-mining, if any clay stone taken, trees despoiled, mast used by cattle other than those allowed by right, Churches built, any boundary marks moved or destroyed, ways straightened, if there were any waifs or strays living in the forest, if any person had taken a swarm of bees or honey, if any grants given and by whom, any new custom growing up to the damage of the King and burden to the country, any arrows found in the forest, and deer dead or wounded, and greyhounds found running, if all dogs have been "lawed" as they ought to be, if the King hath granted liberty to hunt vermin of chase, viz. foxes, wild cats, polecats or squirrels in the forest and by colour thereof any deer had been killed, if any hath hunted the King's deer within seven miles of the forest, at any time within forty days before the King's hunting or forty days after . . . because after hunting they having been disturbed with horns and men may return to their haunts in the forest. If any forestalleth the King's deer by dead hay or live hay, finding a deer feeding goeth against the wind and killeth him with bow, greyhound, or other engine, or waiteth for him at any gap or pitch where the deer usually walk or taketh his flight. If any man hath taken deer with nets, cords, ropes, double 'paternoster' or other engine." Further, "no man not worth ten pounds a year in land of inheritance or three hundred pounds a year in freehold could keep any greyhound or other hound for hunting. No one could hunt in any Forest unless he was worth two hundred pounds a year, or were a knight, the son of a knight, or the son and heir apparent of an esquire." In all there were eighty-four possible ways of breaking Forest Laws—according to Manwood.

Most of the officers appointed by the King to look after the Forests were those he wished to reward for services rendered; they were seldom local men, always knights and generally the

younger sons and cadets of great houses or successful soldiers, so that under the Norman kings the Forest officers generally lacked all sympathy with the human Forest dwellers. Manwood states that "the chief complaint before the Charter *Forestæ* was that the officers of the Forest did much oppress those people who dwelt therein with too much extortion and too many officers." As is the way with a swollen bureaucracy, it tends to err on the severe side and inclines to dishonesty. It was complained that Forest officials often forced the Forest dwellers to purchase hay, oats, corn, lambs and pigs, etc., from them at their own price. There was also a forced purchase of "scot-ale" as it was called, which was considered a great grievance and was quite illegal.

Under the Norman kings and early Plantagenets the care for Beasts of Venerie undoubtedly became a severe drain in bad times and was greatly abused. So much, in fact, that peers and commoners bound together to obtain redress—welding these classes for the first time on a common tie against the despotism of kings. Though the Conqueror's successors did not attempt to make another New Forest, with all the attendant unpopularity, they added to the domains of old ones or "restored the ancient bounds." This was nearly as bad. Thus Manwood says that the first Plantagenet, "Henry II—a Frenchman born—took so much delight in the Forests which were then here (in England) that in a few years afterwards he enlarged them by the afforesting of the lands of the nobility and gentry and others which joined to those forests and thus it continued all his reign and that of his sons Richard I and John, so that by 1215 the greatest part of the kingdom was turned into forests, being a general grievance of the people, so that several of the nobility petitioned the King and set down in certain Articles read to be exhibited to him." This led to Runnymede and Magna Charta—the Englishman's return to pre-Norman customs.

The relevant clauses of the Great Charter of 1215 read :

39. That they who dwell without the Forest shall not appear before the Justiciaries of the Forests upon a common summons, unless they are impleaded or are securities ; and that irregular customs of Forests and of Foresters and Warreners and Sheriffs and Keepers of Rivers shall be amended by 12 Knights of the same shire who ought to be elected by true men of the same shire.
41. That the King shall remove all Foreign Knights and Cross-bowmen . . . who came with horses and arms to the injury of the kingdom.
47. All Forests which have been afforested by the King in his time, shall be disafforested and the same shall be done with rivers which have been fenced by the King himself.

In many old books the Great Charter is identified with the actually later *Charta de Foresta* of Henry III.

It is interesting that hunting should be so closely connected with obtaining the rights of the people ! It was only the fact that the nobles and landowners disliked this extension of Forest rule as much as the humbler freeholders and farming classes that they joined together for the first time since the Conquest, strong enough to bring the King to terms. Henry III was obliged to extend the Forest Charter in return for a fifteenth part of the country's revenues. Edward I—able and intelligent—saw that it was politic to confirm this Charter and agreed to disafforest all the Forest additions made since the time of Henry I. This course another great Plantagenet, Edward III, also deemed it wise to adopt, when pressed to raise money for his Wars. This great lover of sport—who took three hundred couple of hounds and one hundred and thirty falcons with his army to France—in an ingenious compromise managed to retain some of the advantages of Forest rule while abandoning the letter of the law. "Perambulations" were ordered and the land so disafforested by agreement became "purlieu of the Forest," and as such subject to Forest custom as it affected non-owners of the land—i.e. new squatters—and disafforested or freed as it affected the existing landowners, subject to certain "protection for the King's wild beasts." Rangers were appointed who were to drive the King's wild beasts back into the Forest from the "purlieu," but owners of woods, etc., in the purlieu might hunt them on their own lands. No one else could hunt them. From this gradually the custom arose to hunt the deer with hounds across other men's lands, provided the deer had been roused on the huntsman's own land. Deer thus hunted could not be "forestalled," that is to say, headed away from sanctuary in the Forest proper or ambushed in any way by men with bows and greyhounds. Such hunting was never deemed to be done by right, but by "toleration of the King." It was not permissible to hunt out of season, nor "deer of antler in winter and does in summer," nor on Sundays, nor more than three days a week ; and "no multitude of servants or persons were allowed to hunt with a purlieu man."

The last king of England to attempt to revive Forest Law was the tactless die-hard Charles I, for the purpose, not of retaining deer, but to raise revenue by the sale of privileges without having to summon Parliament. In 1640 Parliament confined Forests to their limits as existing in 1623, and Forests ceased after hundreds of years to exert much influence on Hunting—thereafter forced to take on a fresh guise—that of a dart in the open. It would have infuriated William the Conqueror to think of people riding over enclosed land—"made fences," boundary ditches or arable—

such ideas were against all the rules and customs of the Forest.

It is fairly evident that from the days of the Normans to the Plantagenets, Hunting—which in England chiefly meant the chase of the red deer—was technically entirely a Royal sport. We shall see in the course of time down the Ages how this conception of hunting influenced the development of modern fox-hunting, which owes so much of its finer points to direct descent from stag-hunting, the “true sport of kings and princes.” It is likely that the custom of the wearing of scarlet—a colour ever connected with Royalty since the time anyhow of the Stuarts, or perhaps the Tudors—arose from this Royal association in the earliest times.

IV

Before we finish with this short account of Forest custom, it is perhaps well just briefly to touch on the penalties the strict application of which weighed so heavily on people as to force them into sacrilegious revolt against their King, a course which in the Middle Ages was the last resort of goaded and wretched men. These laws had no direct connection perhaps with hunting as we know it to-day, but they do establish definite links with the ordinances of Charlemagne, and at the same time by their very harshness show that the Englishman with traditional tenacity and Scandinavian affinities was endeavouring to maintain hunting as a democratic institution, rather than as the privilege of the few. These two tendencies developed side by side to the eighteenth century and in each generation, as is so characteristic of the English nation, some sort of compromise was arrived at resulting in the preservation of sport. In one generation a man's ear could be cut off for disobeying a law, in another he would be sent to a penal settlement overseas, and another fined—it was all a matter of custom. The Law has ever seemed an ass.

Regarding the penalties enacted by the Conqueror against those who stole his deer by any means whatever, these have always been distorted by historians who did not understand, and by those who wished to do so for political reasons. To modern ideas his Forest Laws were terribly severe, but in judging them we must remember that in those days life itself was held ridiculously cheaply. It did not last very long, anyway, and without the comforts of modern civilisation “rusting out” must have been a tedious, if not painful, proceeding. The life of the next world was considered of vastly greater importance. If a man lost his life he probably gained immortality at once. All punishments were fearful to our ideas and were designed entirely as deterrents. Thieves of all kinds were punished as they always were in Merrie

A hunting morning in Norman times.

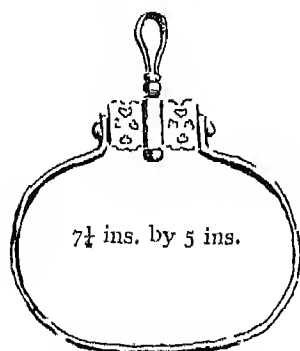


England on the lines of "an eye for an eye, etc.," and if a man owned nothing with which to restore what he had wrongly taken he must give that member which had betrayed him. This was no new idea; anyone who thieved from the Royal Forest did so knowing the penalty—mutilation, possibly death, at the King's pleasure. As a matter of fact, except under the fiercer and unpopular kings, offenders under the Forest Law were punished by fines—at times His Majesty's almost sole source of revenue.

It was not the laws, but "the rapid and violent extension of forest rights in consequence of the Conquest and the destructive influence exercised by the spread of forests and forest jurisdiction on the population at large" which annoyed people who with so much difficulty were forcing a pittance out of the land. To-day, when I hear of "difficulties" with "small-holders" regarding damage by foxes or the Hunt crossing their land I always feel that this attitude of resentment to hunting dates back through the Ages. The "new freeholder" of the Conquest is the "new small-holder" of to-day; from the hard nature of things, both regard forests and hunting as "a curse both directly and indirectly, as a surrender of the rights of men to the comfort of beasts and plants and as a vantage ground from which privileged animals carry out their inroads against the cultivated districts." (P. Vinogradoff.) Rangers of the Forest in the time of the Plantagenets had to contend with this attitude—typical of a certain breed of Englishman—and harassed Hunt Secretaries contend with it to-day.

One of the most resented penalties of living in a Forest was that no greyhounds or "running dogs" of any kind were to be kept, and if kept they must be "lawed"—that is, have three claws cut off one forefoot so that they could not be fast enough to catch

deer. This was seen to by the Rangers of the Forest at the annual "courts" and naturally at times caused much ill-feeling, not so much for cruelty to the hounds, but for their interference with private affairs. The custom of "lawing" hounds dated from the times of Canute. Mastiffs for house-guards could be kept if "lawed," and small dogs. All others at the Conquest were subject to a "grant"—that is, if an officer of the Forest fancied someone's hound it was fairly easy to withdraw the grant and take him. Later on only dogs that could pass through a "stirrup" could be kept



*The Parker "dog stirrup."
(From "Country Life.")*

in a Forest. Such an iron dog stirrup survives down the centuries at Browsholme Hall in Yorkshire, the seat of the Parker family. (The Parkers long held office as Bow-bearers of Bowland Forest, part of the Duchy of Lancaster.)

There were many rules. No one could hunt at night, or blow a horn in the Forest without permission—even where there were rights of way or *cheminage*. No man could make in-leaps for deer, or “saltaires” to obtain them for his park without Royal permission; rabbits were not to be allowed to get out of parks into the open Forest.

One of the most important Forest customs was that by which all cattle, swine, etc., were cleared from the Forest for the *fence month*, a period lasting from a fortnight before midsummer to fifteen days after, (St. Cyril's Day). This was the fawning month and during that time the Forests became privileged places for the quiet and preservation of wild beasts. “Fence” came from *defence*, the deer being defended from disturbance. The “Fence Month” also dated back to the time of Canute, but the Norman kings certainly tightened up the literal restrictions. No pannage (or feeding of swine) was allowed, nor were rushes, bents, etc., to be gathered, or any timber cut. Stag-hunting lasted from midsummer to Holyrood Day, and hind-hunting from Holyrood to Candlemas.

Goats, geese, sheep and hogs were not rightfully commonable in a Forest, nor were any beasts belonging to strangers. Trees and bushes bearing fruit that the wild beast liked were not to be cut down—such as crab apples, ivy berries, and so forth. One way and another the rangers, verderers, agistors and regards of the King must have been kept very busy and constantly at loggerheads with the struggling freeholder on his small patch, forbidden so many things enjoyed by other people out of Forests, and not even allowed to grow a hedge high enough to keep deer off his fields. It was the duty of all Forest dwellers to join the “hue and cry” made after takers of venison from the Forest.

Killing *venison* in a Forest was punishable, in the case of a hare by the loss of an arm and of a deer by life itself. This was constantly enforced by the Norman kings, till under the Charter of Henry III it was enacted that no offence against Forest Law was punishable by loss of life and limb. To this day deer are still, technically, not subject to ordinary Game Laws; the taking of them in a forest or on private property is a felony. Naturally, such laws gave rise to the Robin Hood type of outlaw, part adventurer, part felon.

Constantly, the kings gave grants to their friends and followers with regard to hunting. It was deemed “a warrant of profit” if this included the right to hunt with a company and carry away

and sell the deer killed, while it was a "warrant of pleasure" if granted to an individual to hunt, himself only. Eventually, under the Plantagenets, Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and Barons coming to Court by order of the King were granted the right to kill one or two deer as they passed through the Forests, but the relevant Ranger must be notified.

The Church was nearly as keen on hunting as the nobility. For instance, Edward I gave the Abbot of Peterborough a grant to hunt hares and foxes in certain Forests and the Abbot of Cirencester was allowed various parks (including the present well-known covert in the Duke of Beaufort's country, Stanton Park in the Forest of Braydon). Chaucer often refers to the clergy hunting as in the *Ploughman's Tale* the famous monk who

" . . . rides or courses as a knight
With hawkes and with houndes ike.

.

An outrider that loved venerie ;
A manly man to bell an abbot able
Full many a demtie hors hadde he in stable.

.

He mote go hunte with dogge and bitch
And blowen his horne and cryn Hey."

A certain Abbot of Whitby killed a stag in the River Derwent, a meer of the Forest of Pickering, for which he was indicted.

To-day most Forests remain but in name, with here and there a lovely preserved open space such as Windsor, the New Forest and Epping, to mark their past. But still the old names can be traced—Bowland, Charnwood, St. Leonards, Sherwood, Ashdown, Wrekin, etc. Many districts formerly preserved to the King or some great lord's hunting, still echo to the sound of horn and hound—as, for instance, the great forest of Rockingham, the favourite hunting ground of the Plantagenets—round which one still hunts with Belvoir, Quorn, Cottesmore and Pytchley.

To-day, also, we find "deer forests" in Scotland, where lucky people can go out as men went out long ages ago to stalk and kill a wild deer in its own haunts. Names have changed, a hart is called a stag, antlers are even called horns—but much of the old spirit survives in deer forests, even to "sanctuaries" for the deer. It is sometimes said that "forest" refers to the time when the Scottish Highlands were covered with thick woods; undoubtedly some parts were much more wooded than nowadays, but the term "forest" (Forest of Mar, etc.,) originates from times

when Kings of Scotland preserved deer. Drumsheugh Forest was such a Royal preserve just outside Edinburgh (now the centre of the Nursing Home area of the city). The latest reservations for red deer are "forests" as they were in their earliest sense.

v

Forgive the space taken to tell of Forest customs; they have an important bearing on any history of hunting. If any doubt the truth of this, let me quote from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on "Game, Protection in the United States of America" (1929):

"The game of the U.S.A. is in danger of extinction. This is due to the American system of 'free shooting' for every citizen, the dictation of killing laws and regulations by the killers themselves, the reluctance of the killing majority to give up its killing 'rights' so long as any game remains. For fifty years the laws of the U.S.A. have permitted wasteful killing of game. . . . Along with these blunders are to be reckoned the loss of natural cover and food. . . . Unfortunately the American machinery for the destruction of American game is now so vast, so varied and so uncontrollable, its momentum is so great that it is a question whether it will be possible to curb its power or reverse it before the end of the game supply is reached. . . . In another ten or fifteen years, unless drastic action is taken, the killable game of the U.S.A. will be so completely gone that the sport of game hunting will be as dead as buffalo hunting. The sizes of the forty-eight State armies of game destroyers stagger the imagination. . . . In the autumn of 1926 the grand total of licensed hunters taking the field was 5,183,353. They were carried to their greatly expanded hunting grounds in quick time by perhaps 2,000,000 automobiles. All their guns are breech-loading and rapid fire. Of their shot guns 85% are of the super-deadly choke-bore, automatic and 'pump' pattern, spraying out five or six charges of shot without removal from the shoulder. The gunpowder used is extra strength. . . . These hunters are assisted by guides, dogs, boats, blinds, decoys, baited waters, and other devices to take unfair advantage of the helpless game.

Of first importance in measures for game protection is provision for refuge areas, where wild birds and other species can feed, breed and rest undisturbed by man. . . . Next in importance is the existence of adequate game laws.

"In the U.S.A. the possession of game by killing belongs, subject to limitations of State law, to him who kills or catches, not, as in England, to the landowner on whose property such game may be caught or bagged."

Can it be doubted that but for the presence of William the Conqueror in England there would have been no *vert* nor any *venison* left for us over eight hundred years after his death, if fifty years can so cripple the sporting possibilities of a continent?

Not only in the United States, but in the self-governing Dominions, where such game rule holds, there is danger of the extinction of all game, unless the Government steps in with sanctuaries and game officers.

Thus to us William the Conqueror is justified ; his motives stand the test of nearly a thousand years. At the same time it is only fair to point out that the nobleman who most curbed the power of the Crown and Forest Law—Simon de Montfort—was also a great hunting man as well as a fine soldier. A letter from Simon de Montfort just before his death at the Battle of Evesham in 1265 states that he bred horses at Newmarket, and his seal attached to a deed dated 1259 (now in Paris) shows him galloping with hounds and blowing his horn. It is sometimes claimed that he was the first known M.F.H. ; he certainly hunted in Warwickshire and Leicestershire.

CHAPTER V

THE CRUSADERS : AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST

" Hunters live in this world more joyfully than any other men."

THE MASTER OF GAME.

I

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY, IN WHICH WE HAVE SEEN A sportsman with a hawk upon his wrist and representations of real stag-hunting with "running hounds," fixes for us the beginning of a new sporting age. These characteristics were to grow and grow until they came to be accepted as the hall-marks of a man of gentle birth—a type not confined to any single country in Europe, but coming from wherever Northern blood had penetrated. It was this type who marched away to the Crusades, cross on shoulder, the latest Provençal love-song on his lips, a white hound at his heels, a sword at his side, his own horse between his knees, a clear conscience—more useful than his shield—a sense of adventure stronger than his chain mail, gold spurs on his heels, but probably owning little else besides. He was a man, brought up from youth to fit himself to command men, to fight on a horse—the most effective method known to the world of that time—and innured to a hard life by constant practice in the hunting-field, if battles were not forthcoming. He was not the sort to think it derogatory to groom his horse himself, should no one else be available to do so properly, but with few exceptions he did despise book learning and the peaceful occupations of townsmen, clerics and money-makers.

This was just at a period when a distracted Europe was beginning to find Peace under the organisation of the Church of Rome and the protection of Henry II of England and Philip of France. Consequently, many trained knights (i.e. horsemen) were beginning to find themselves seemingly unemployed—the finest fighting men in the world and nothing to fight.

Up to the time of the Crusades every country in Europe had assimilated (more or less) according to their origins Charlemagne's theories of chivalry and feudalism. Men held their manors from

the Central Executive by virtue of service during time of War. Lands were granted to them for services rendered and their sons, retainers, tenants, etc., all had to pay their dues in similar service. For long years all Europe had been torn by disastrous wars, which had threatened great and small alike ; but as things settled down war became gradually less frequent, till eventually, just before the first Crusade, there was in most countries a considerable force of young men pining for lack of occupation, who had grown up to bear arms and to whom the King never called. If the Central Executive, i.e. the King, did not call them, there was nothing to do. No ruler in Europe of the age had sufficient funds to pay fighting men, and fighting men could not afford to maintain themselves far from home for long at a time. Feudalism was well suited for home defence, rather than for offensive measures of any kind. The finer points of life and the art of living had largely been obscured for some hundreds of years in Europe by the difficult process of keeping alive at all. Meanwhile, the unfathomable East had kept alive many things from the old days. Inevitably, ideas must clash from time to time and the clash, known to History as the Crusades, resulted in a thousand unexpected things, chief of which was the spread of the learning of other days, and the Renaissance. The Crusades were to alter feudalism, turning it into a code of life which would widen men's ideas of the world and produce new theories and practice of War.

First as to the period known as the Crusades, regarded by historians partly as the expression of a great religious revival which had begun in Western Europe before the end of the tenth century, and partly as a most important chapter in the history of the vast interactions between East and West—interactions which are still going on—witness Soviet ideals reacting throughout all Europe to-day. Contemporaries regarded the Crusades in the former of these two aspects, as " holy wars " dominated by the spirit of other-worldliness and accordingly ruled by the clerical power which represented to them the other world. Moreover, at that time penance had become an increasingly strong instrument of policy in the Church. Penance by pilgrimage often succeeding far better in its objects—to chasten the spirit, get rid of a tiresome person for some time if not to kill him off altogether or at least " broaden his mind and perhaps put new ideas therein." To-day we are inclined to read of the Crusades and to marvel at their inception, the courage and the difficulties ; then to regret and grieve over the tragic waste of so much splendid human material. The Crusaders themselves did not see things in this light. Assured of life after death they were employed doing what they were trained to do—fight—and we must not lose sight of the lasting effects of the Crusades on life in Europe. Without the

Crusades there would have been no Renaissance, the Age which re-created Art, Literature, History and a Code of Manners.

Though to some extent it is true that the Crusades renewed the ancient feud between East and West, one must remember that for a thousand years (to the Siege of Vienna in 1683) the peril of a complete Mahomedan conquest of Europe was almost continually present in the minds of thinking people. The Crusaders protected with their lives the ideals of feudal service and Christianity against Mahomedanism under the Turks, giving the Western civilisation of the Middle Ages time to develop in the same way that 1914-1918 saw the Allied Armies defending ideals of personal freedom against the form of control known as "Prussianism." But, as is usual with the Northern races, while confident in their own righteousness the Crusaders were quite ready to appreciate the good points in their adversaries and to assimilate their ideas into Northern civilisation, particularly in matters of detail—such as dress, sports and pastimes. This has even been a characteristic of the English (for instance, the fur caps taken by the Scots Greys from Napoleon's grenadiers at Austerlitz, or the uniforms of the Hussar Regiments copied wholesale from Hungarians, Austrians and Russians). The Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem became the meeting-place of Eastern and Western ideas, which was to be maintained to a much later date with Sicily as a centre, Malta and Moorish Spain. Through these gateways came and went ideas with regard to horses, armour, dress, hunting, hawking and hounds; luxury, statecraft and poisons—science,

II

But first we must go back a little, to Chapter III, page 79. For centuries after the Arabs took Jerusalem, in A.D. 637, the Christians of the West had been allowed to maintain a close connection with their Latin Church in Jerusalem. Charlemagne in particular, with his statesman's eye seeing far into the realities of life, had made himself closely connected with Jerusalem. In A.D. 800 the Patriarch sent him the keys of the city and a sacred standard, and in 807 his friend (and ours), the Caliph Harun-al-Raschid, recognised this symbolic session and acknowledged Charlemagne as protector of Jerusalem and owner of the Church of the Sepulchre. Charlemagne even founded a hospital for pilgrims, and a library there, so that the later legends which made him the first Crusader and conqueror of Jerusalem were not without a basis of fact. This connection lasted during the ninth century; kings like Alfred of England and Louis of Germany sent regular contributions to the Church of Jerusalem. In the

eleventh century this intercourse was interrupted by various causes, secular and spiritual; quarrels between the Greek and Latin Churchmen, while Turkish Arabs displaced Egyptian Arabs as the nominal owners of Jerusalem. Pilgrims suffered and complained to home; and one way and another it was seen that the only way was to clear a passage by arms, and this at the same time when, as we have shown, there were plenty of trained men willing and waiting for a call. The call came from the Church, the Church that had helped to create the Empire of Charlemagne out of the ashes of the Roman Empire. The Church was the one solidifying element in a world struggling against petty nationalism, in the same way but differently, that to-day men of goodwill have striven to build a League of Nations. It is more than probable, then as to-day, there were other forces at work, sinister ones taking advantage of the desire for universal goodwill for personal gain—vendors of pardons, merchants seeking openings to the East, shippers, horse-dealers, land purchasers, kings interested in getting power, townsmen anxious to be rid of powerful neighbours—all encouraged an enterprise likely to remove so many warlike men from home. Probably few of the early supporters guessed to what vast affair they were putting their hands. Probably only a few of the actual Crusaders themselves saw anything but a job that needed doing, satisfactory to inclination, training and conscience. Only a few generations back those men were Vikings; adventure still called and thank goodness here was a man's work to do. Moreover, it was possible to take horse and hound along as well, with a chance to fly a falcon and run down a deer in a strange country. Many of those who could afford to do so, especially the English, took their wives (it has ever been a tradition among English women of the upper class to get as near to the war front as possible). Thus a job was found for the younger son, the adventurous prince and the unemployed horseman; and they all intended to do or die, while "the Truce of God" among those left behind kept all at home safe and gave the statesmen and politicians time.

It is not possible here to describe the magnificent tragedy of the first Crusade, the epic heroism of the taking and holding of Antioch, the rivalry of Raymund the Provençal and Bohemund of Otranto, the Norman Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Norman King of Jerusalem, and the occupation and partial colonisation of Palestine—it is part of history; *The Crusades*, by H. Lamb, should be read by everyone. Whatever the defects of Chivalry, the system certainly made magnificent fighters and leaders of men. Anyone who has seen the country that the Crusaders

fought over, and can visualise the conditions under which they won through, reads amazed at such super-men and heroism.

Amid all the difficulties, dangers, privations, sieges and sickness the Crusaders found time to hunt. One old Chronicler said that "they hunted on their way to the Holy Land, and on their way back during the campaigns there, they hunted all the time even sleeping and eating." On one occasion when five hundred Crusaders died of thirst in the Syrian desert, their hounds scented water in the distance and thus saved the rest of the force. And there were many like Roger Count of Antioch, who seeing that his domains must be taken by the Saracens, called for his horses and hounds and falcons and spent his last day hunting—that night the enemy cut off his head.

The first Crusade resulted in three Frankish kingdoms, loosely held by force of strong arms. Magnificent castles were built by the conquerors, traces of which can be seen in Syria and Palestine to-day. It was characteristic that they built true to their own Northern type, in the same way as they had ridden to battle over burning sands in full armour—chain mail, long shield and heavy, stifling steel casque—as if they were in France or England.

The early Crusaders did not really appreciate the facts that divisions among the Mahomedans had accounted for much of their initial success, and that command of the sea had made their occupation of Syria and Palestine possible. When Saladin came on the scene there was quite a different complexion on affairs. Moreover, the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem had not the political or financial strength to survive. The whole spirit of Chivalry and Feudalism rested on a strong and able king by right of birth and consecration. In the First Crusade there was no kingly leader; consequently each Crusader fought as he thought right, attached himself to leaders chosen by himself and detached himself according as he thought fit. Personal gain and advantage could not help becoming an alternate aim—the lure of fruitful plains of Syria were almost more potent for many than the arid rocks of Jerusalem. Eastern luxury no doubt undermined Northern constitutions—Jerusalem had eleven Crusader kings in a hundred years. The barons alternated between the extravagances of Western Chivalry and the attractions of Eastern luxury—Persian rugs, Moorish silk, Damascus work, Saracen music, side by side with a depressed and alien population, a thinly spread ruling population, Genoese and Venetian traders becoming millionaires—all new ideas. The crusading states had been founded by adventurers who thirsted for gain—it was a well-known vice of Frankish Chivalry for "robber" barons to swoop down out of impregnable castles and capture merchants to hold them to ransom. This little peculiarity was continued in Palestine; the

Moslems might have endured a state of "infidels," but they could not endure brigands. By 1145 the conditions were desperate. St. Bernard started to preach the Second Crusade; though as a matter of fact the so-called First, Second and Third Crusades were really one long continued process. Scarcely a year passed in which some famous band did not come to the Holy Land, but there was no cohesion of the right sort.

Meanwhile, on the horizon, events in the East were shaping themselves on a religious revival, followed by a political union under Saladin, who finally brought Egypt and Northern Syria under a single rule in 1183. The position became so dangerous that the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital went to France and England offering the crown to Philip Augustus and Henry II in turn, in order to secure their presence in the Holy Land. (The main result of this visit was the rise of a regular system of taxation of the householder—which has been described as the foundation of modern Taxation!) In 1187 Jerusalem capitulated, after the loss of practically every Crusader element.

It was Conrad of Montferrat as much as any single man who was responsible for the Third Crusade. He knew both East and West. In the general debacle he had succeeded in saving Tyre. From there he sent out appeals to the West—not the least effective of which was a poster which represented the Holy Sepulchre defiled by the horses of the Saracens. This was too much for the feelings of the times. The three great rulers of Europe sprang to arms, and the "Saladin tax," levied on all those who did not take the cross, provided ample men and means. Of them all, the most interesting and commanding figure was Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. The stars in their courses had risen—Saladin and Richard—two great men were to meet. To them more than to any other men of their day we owe the introduction of new ideas—facts which make for greatness of men.

We are all proud that Cœur-de-Lion was King of England; but we sometimes forget that he was also, through his mother and his wife, lord of the greater part of France, and it is unlikely that he could speak one word of English. Of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Giraldus of Wales wrote: "Among the virtues in which he excels, three especially distinguish him beyond compare: supreme valour and daring; unbounded liberality and bountifulness; steadfast constancy in holding to his purpose and his word." This accounts for his nickname, "Richard Yea and Nay." Richard I was not only a great leader in the field, but probably the most scientific military architect of his age. "Hunted and wounded wild boar saw we never more furious than he is"; he never swerved from his course. Except for interminable quarrels with his family and

his French subjects, hitherto Richard had not found anything really worthy of his steel and his great powers, but we must remember that for hundreds of years hunting was the school of men-at-arms. To their School great men of our day always give much credit; Richard I would have given his due meed to Hunting. Book learning, if this stormy Plantagenet ever had any, would have ceased at the age of ten. It is extraordinary to-day, when it is the fashion to judge men almost entirely by examinations in bookwork, to note that the greatest man in Europe of the twelfth century could do little more than write his name.

In 1187 Saladin won the Battle of Hattin, near the plain of Tiberius, where seven hundred years later General Allenby's cavalry were to pursue the fleeing Turks. It was dreadful news to the whole of Europe. Richard heard it one winter night in Tours; the next morning he had taken the cross.

It is probable that the existence of the spice trade was a powerful stimulant; every civilised household in Europe depended on salted, i.e. highly spiced, meat during the winter for its main food supply. Saladin threatened to cut right through the caravan route taken by the spice-merchants.

III

Those singularly able and fascinating people—the Saracens—afford to the world now much more than its most wonderful example of religious fervour. They are also something of an ethnological mystery. Nothing that equals their rapid ascendancy has been known in human affairs. Mahomed the Prophet was born in A.D. 569. He was forty years old before he began to make known, even to his family, his mission. The *Hegira*, from which his followers date the beginning, was in 622. In the attack on Medina (625) he had only three thousand soldiers. At that time the Saracens, or Arabs, were an almost insignificant people—desert dwellers in a desperate land, not taken seriously by the ordered world. One hundred years later they had conquered Northern Africa, Egypt, Syria, Persia, Corsica, Sicily, the whole of Spain, Portugal and Southern France. This astonishing advance was accompanied by deeds of extraordinary daring, self-sacrifice and chivalry. In the reign of Omar, the second Caliph, from 634 to 644, the forces of Islam are said to have captured or destroyed thirty-six thousand cities and strong places belonging to their enemies, to have annihilated four thousand churches and temples and to have built one thousand four hundred mosques.

In 633 the atrophied Eastern Empire at Constantinople was besieged by the Saracens; it did not fall till much later, but the prestige of the Empire withered entirely. By 732 the Saracens

were within two hundred miles of Paris and apparently there was *nothing to stay them but Charles Martel and his Franks*. That truer Roman Empire, which at all times was more spiritual than physical, more in men's minds than in their vision, had never faced a crisis so imminent. The Saracens relied chiefly on their dashing cavalry and their trained archers. They were met by Charles Martel and his mounted Franks¹ and most utterly defeated at the Battle of Tours, chiefly by superior weight and discipline—otherwise they would most surely have conquered the whole of Northern Europe and the Koran would have been expounded in every Cathedral in Europe. (By Crusading times Charles Martel was often confused by "the tellers of tales" with the other Charles, his descendant Charles the Great, more usually known as Charlemagne, and thus it came about also that Saracens became substituted for many of Charlemagne's enemies in the metrical romances of the Middle Ages.)

Very proud of his race and his family was Saladin himself, intensely devout and regular in prayers and fasting. His fame lives in the East as a conqueror who stemmed Western invasion, as the hero who united the unruly East and as the saint who realised in himself the highest virtues and ideals of Mahomedanism. He had the Oriental's power of endurance, alternating with emotional courage. Extremely kind and gentle, he loved children, was scrupulously honest, keeping his word, and was chivalrous to women and the weak. In fact, he was recognised as a pattern of Chivalry: no higher title had the Crusaders to bestow than this. Saladin practised what the Crusaders preached, far better than usually they did themselves. Interested in the ideas of Chivalry he asked to have them expounded to him; he could almost say "these have I kept from my youth up." His generosity and hospitality were proved to the Crusaders again and again. By race he was a Kurd—that is, of the same Aryan stock as ourselves; and there has always been some affinity between ourselves and the Arabs down to the times of Doughty, the author of *Arabia Deserta*, and Lawrence of Arabia.

IV

From the long struggle in the East the Crusaders returned home—those that did return—carrying with them new ideas of all sorts. Hunting, of course, came in for its fair share of innovations. New ideas took some time to penetrate castles, manors and homesteads in outback parts of Europe. The first places touched were Italy, Provence, and other parts of Southern Europe, and so became the first to experience the Renaissance.

¹ See page 79.

It was long before new ideas of pomp and magnificence reached these islands; we never competed with Italian princes riding through Italy with "twelve hundred hounds and eight hundred horses beautifully accoutred."

New horses were certainly among the first and most valuable cargo imported *via* the Southern ports of Europe; and continued for some five hundred years in sufficient numbers to influence various local breeds throughout Northern Europe; though, of course, a long time was taken in the process. The knight, fighting on his own ground, had found himself a match for at least five Infidels, but with a half-starved horse or wearied and suffocated by heavy armour worn all day in the hot sun, he no doubt had admired the lightness, agility and speed of his adversary, mounted on a quick, light horse, and using a hacking sword and a light type of metal bow—shaped like Cupid's bow in most pictures.

As already stated, it is still a moot point exactly whence, how and when "the Arab" received the foundation stock of that type of light horse referred to as the "pure-bred Arabian," but, as already stated in Chapter I, the Arabian is believed to have come from the same source as other domestic breeds of horses, though his development had been carefully sponsored by known and unknown people.¹ This type of horse first began to appear in Europe during the Middle Ages in Italy, around the ports of Naples, Genoa, etc., and in Southern Spain. It is said that Richard I and his brother John imported "stallions from the East" into England.

The Bedouins in Northern Arabia had good horses from very early times, though it is sometimes stated that at the time of Mohamed there were few horses in Arabia. The fact is that Mohamed lived near Mecca and Medina, in the camel country, too hot for horses. (By the way, it seems likely that Bedouins are the ancestors of gipsies, not, as sometimes stated, the Egyptians—always people of settled place and property.)

The Saracens continued to improve the foundation stock which Allah had placed in their capable hands out of all knowledge, chiefly by judicious breeding; the pedigrees of their horses were most carefully and jealously guarded. It is likely that interest in pedigrees and breeding emanated from the East, gradually spreading throughout a Europe which had forgotten a great deal of its own history. It is characteristic that the Saracens concerned themselves chiefly with pedigrees in the female line, a really proved valuable mare never being parted with under any

¹ For instance, to-day Java ponies are descendants of early Arabian horses—travelling Arabs developed Java and probably took horses there with them. Possibly Persia and India received some of the fine Arabian blood in the same way.

circumstances—a fact which militated against any really good blood from the East reaching Europe for many a long day. Only stallions, especially the lesser good ones, were parted with; and it was from these that “Arab blood,” generally under the name of the Barb, or “horse of Barberie,” was introduced into Europe during the Middle Ages. But it was not only because mares were so impossible to get hold of, but Northern Europeans have always characteristically counted the male line as the more important in breeding. Even to-day much more trouble is taken by most breeders of bloodstock in England over the pedigree of the sire they intend to use than over the dam’s, a practice in direct opposition to that of the Arabs for hundreds of years as successful horse-breeders.

Spain being close to Africa and overrun during the Moslem conquests, its horses became interbred with Eastern blood at an early date—becoming known as *Alfares* and *Andalusians*, and then crossed with the Black Vandal and other Gothic breeds from Gaul and Central Europe, came to be known as *Ginetas* or Spanish Jennets, because they were small and only fitted for light, speedy cavalry. The mixture of Gothic blood produced size, and the breed spread from Navarre over Christian Europe and probably formed the first well-bred Great Horses for armoured riders. Many of these were grey and are referred to in the old Romances and by the troubadours of France as *ferrant*, *auferrant*, and *blanc-ferrant*, as they were different shades of this colour.

New hounds were likewise taken home by Crusaders returning from the Holy Land. For instance, in his book on Hunting, *La Chasse Royale*, Charles IX of France writes that his ancestor, the sainted Crusader King Louis, brought back with him to France a pack of *chiens gris* “which had pleased him mightily and were excellent for stag-hunting.”

Undoubtedly, the Bedouin Arab has ever been a good judge of a horse and hound; the latter being mostly of the Saluki greyhound type, to which it is possible Charles IX referred.

It seems probable that new hunting terms and language also went back, to France especially—the Franks being the dominating race in the Crusades, both numerically and politically. It is possible that “Tally-ho!” may have derived originally from the Syriac “*Taleb-yon!*”—“There’s the fox!” *Tailliant!* was undoubtedly used in Mediæval France when hunting red deer, on viewing the hunted stag and at the death; a custom, together with the *Hallili*, traditionally ascribed to the Crusades. In England, at a contemporary date, there was no equivalent for *Tailliant*; neither Twici, the huntsman of Edward II who wrote a

Treatise on Hunting about 1341, mentions the word as ever being in use in this country, nor does the Duke of York writing in the time of Henry IV. In fact, in spite of what certain "sporting writers" infer, no "*Tally-ho!*" was in common use in the English hunting-field, anyhow until late in the seventeenth century.¹

Another result of the Crusades was that Heraldry received a great impetus, changing from the simple character of the selected device of an individual to the rules and regulations of an elaborate science. Practically no one outside the Church could read, and some sort of identification of a knight's name and status was essential. Inspired by Saracen Art, *Heralds proceeded to work out the most beautiful new coats of arms, unrivalled for artistry—horses, hounds, hunting accoutrements and hawks becoming favourite designs and evincing their patron's strong interest in these things. Mediæval Heraldry, quite as much as their monkish contemporaries, laid the foundations of that artistic sense which would later characterise the Renaissance Period in Europe.*²

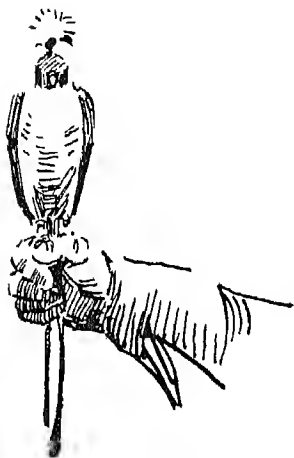
So also with Music. The Saracens were great musicians and the Christian hosts were much interested in all they heard and saw, particularly of horn-blowing—such a useful means of communication. Hitherto, Northern European horns had been of the simplest type. Formerly, horns had been used to frighten game into nets and *haies*, but after the Crusades horns began to be made often of metal, or at least with a metal mouthpiece. The Saracens were great metal-workers and as it became possible to blow more than a single note on the new and longer horns, more varied and elaborate calls on the horn were introduced. It is possible that these gay *fanfares*, typical of hunting in the Middle Ages, originated as Crusaders' reminiscence of the Mahomedan incantations: *La Ilah il Allah!*—"There is no other God but Allah!"—and *Allah akbar!*—"God is most great!" Anyhow, the *Hallali* became an integral ceremony in Mediæval hunting, and horn music began to develop after the Crusades, as well as what may be called the pomp and circumstances of the Chase.

Hawking also received fresh impetus. A curious practice which prevailed all over Europe after the Crusades was that of "hooding" falcons while carrying them on the wrist. This had long been the custom in the East. In the Bayeux Tapestry

¹ As will be seen later, the word was probably introduced into England from France by four Frenchmen lent by Henry IV to James I to teach the latter's huntsmen to hunt the stag "after the French manner."

² Sumerian stone seals belonging to the fourth century B.C. showing figures engraved on them, often pairs of animals such as lions and eagles, which copied by later artists are the original of our heraldic devices and supporters. (*Romance of Life in the Ancient World*, F. A. Wright.)

Harold's falcon is shown carried free, but in the crude pictures of the next century one finds that the birds were all hooded, after the Eastern fashion. The Saracen was as keen on his falcons as on his horses and hounds. Though hawking at game, without doubt, was very popular in Saxon England—Asser refers to King Alfred's love of the sport, and William of Malmesbury to the same characteristic of King Athelstan, who he says got his hawks from Wales—the sport did not become a science and an art until after the Crusades.



Some idea as to the importance of this art, which indirectly affected hunting, can be gauged from the fact that there are more than three hundred and fifty printed books known to the collector on this picturesque and fascinating subject. Of these books eighty-four are written in French, and eighty-two in English—the others being in Latin, Spanish, German, Danish, Norwegian, Turkish, Arabic, Japanese, Persian, etc.—possibly the best of them all being *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, written over six hundred years ago by the Emperor Frederick II in the thirteenth century, after his return from travelling in the East.

First, briefly, we should know of the antiquity of the sport. Falconry appears to have been known in China about 2000 B.C., and probably it was practised in India, Arabia, Persia and Syria at least as early as 600 B.C.—countries where the art of employing falcons in the chase is still carried on to-day much as it has been all down the centuries. Persian and Arabic writers ascribe the origin of falconry to a prehistoric Persian king: it is certain that the Moguls gave a great impetus to hawking in India. It was certainly known in Egypt ages ago. The oldest records of falconry in Europe are in the writings of Pliny, Aristotle and Martial. Falconry is said to have been introduced into England from the Continent about A.D. 860. It quickly became a favourite sport of the ruling classes, and in the Middle Ages was followed considerably more as an amusement than as a means of getting game for the table—though, as with all sport worthy the name, this latter aspect had its important side. It was practised in England down to a date considerably later than the Restoration—it is still practised by certain enthusiasts, but about the middle of the seventeenth century a variety of causes brought about its practical extinction.

In old days, wild geese, cranes, kites, ravens and bustards were the larger game flown at in England, as they still are to-day in

less-civilised parts of the world. But black game, pheasants, partridges, quails, landrails, duck, teal, woodcock, snipe, herons, rooks, crows, gulls, magpies, jays, blackbuds, thrushes and larks, with hares and rabbits, were flown at in the old hawking days in the British Isles. The Eastern falconers had a still more varied list of game flown at—such as pea-fowl and kites, and they trained their *saker* falcons (like large peregrines) to strike down small gazelle in the desert. This type of sport can still be seen in parts of Syria, etc.; Saluki greyhounds are taught to course and hold the gazelle, which is struck on the head by the falcon—the gazelle being too fast for the hounds alone to catch it.

The family of hawk-like birds of prey used for hunting all over the world was divided by falconers into two classes: (1) the “long-winged hawks of the lure,” or falcons, i.e. the peregrine falcon, gyr-falcon, merlin, hobby, etc.; (2) the “short-winged hawks,” or “hawks of the fist,” such being the kestrel, sparrow-hawk and goshawk, with which people went “hawking.” Flying with the long-winged hawks—especially the valuable gyr-falcons—i.e. true falconry, was properly reserved for those of high estate—but in England, where free men had always been accustomed to owning and flying hawks on their own ground, this Continental idea was not easy to enforce and caused a lot of trouble, Henry III eventually consenting to let every man have his own eyrie of hawks. The bigger falcons never became general because of the expense.

There is no doubt that this favourite sport of hawking, practised unhindered throughout the British Isles during the Middle Ages, fixed in men's minds the joy of a pleasant day on horseback moving around the countryside, with every now and again the thrill of a dart in the open.

The hawking language is not the least picturesque part of what must at its best have been a fascinating sport. Hunting people to-day ought at least to know the rudiments of Hawking and the terms of falconry. The whole aim of the falconer was to have his bird in perfect control but as near as possible in keenness and condition as if in its wild state. A bird that was taken young from the nest as a fledgling was called an “eyass” and she had to be most carefully trained. In the Middle Ages an eyass was not as a rule so highly thought of as the adult wild bird, which was called a haggard or passage-hawk, and required the greatest care and patience to train or “reclaim” from the wild state. Each type of bird had its own particular work to do: for instance, sparrow-hawks could be used in woods, but it was necessary to have open country, downs and moors for true game hawking, as otherwise the quarry escaped. Sometimes dogs, probably the first Spanish dogs or spaniels, were used to flush or point the game,

while the falcon "waited" above. Sometimes the falcon was kept hooded until the dogs pointed at, say, a covey of partridges hidden in stubble. It was a great test of a falcon to "wait on" nicely. The birds were not flushed until the falcon had "reached her pitch," a position high up, well over the cowering covey and probably a little up-wind of them, ready to "stoop" directly they got up. The falcon will fly headlong downwards at incredible speed, catching up and striking the bird she has selected with the hind talon of her foot, and the partridge falls to the ground with a trail of feathers. Occasionally, the victim dodges and manages to hurl itself into the shelter of a hedge and escapes, but a trained falcon seldom misses. All the various hawks had their different "flights."

In all species of hawk the female is larger and more powerful than the male. In old books you will come across references to "tiercels," which are the male birds, smaller, it was said by a *tiercel* or third, than the females; the male of the noble peregrine being still further distinguished as the "tiercel gentle." In the *Boke of St. Albans* (an oft-quoted collection of mediæval terms of venerie ascribed to a certain Dame Juliana Berners, but whose authenticity has baffled all historians) the eagle was the bird for an Emperor, the gyr-falcon for a king, the peregrine for an earl, and the merlin for a lady. The goshawk, so highly prized in the great houses of France, in England was assigned to a yeoman, the sparrow-hawk to a priest, and the "musket" or male sparrow-hawk to a "holiwater clerk."

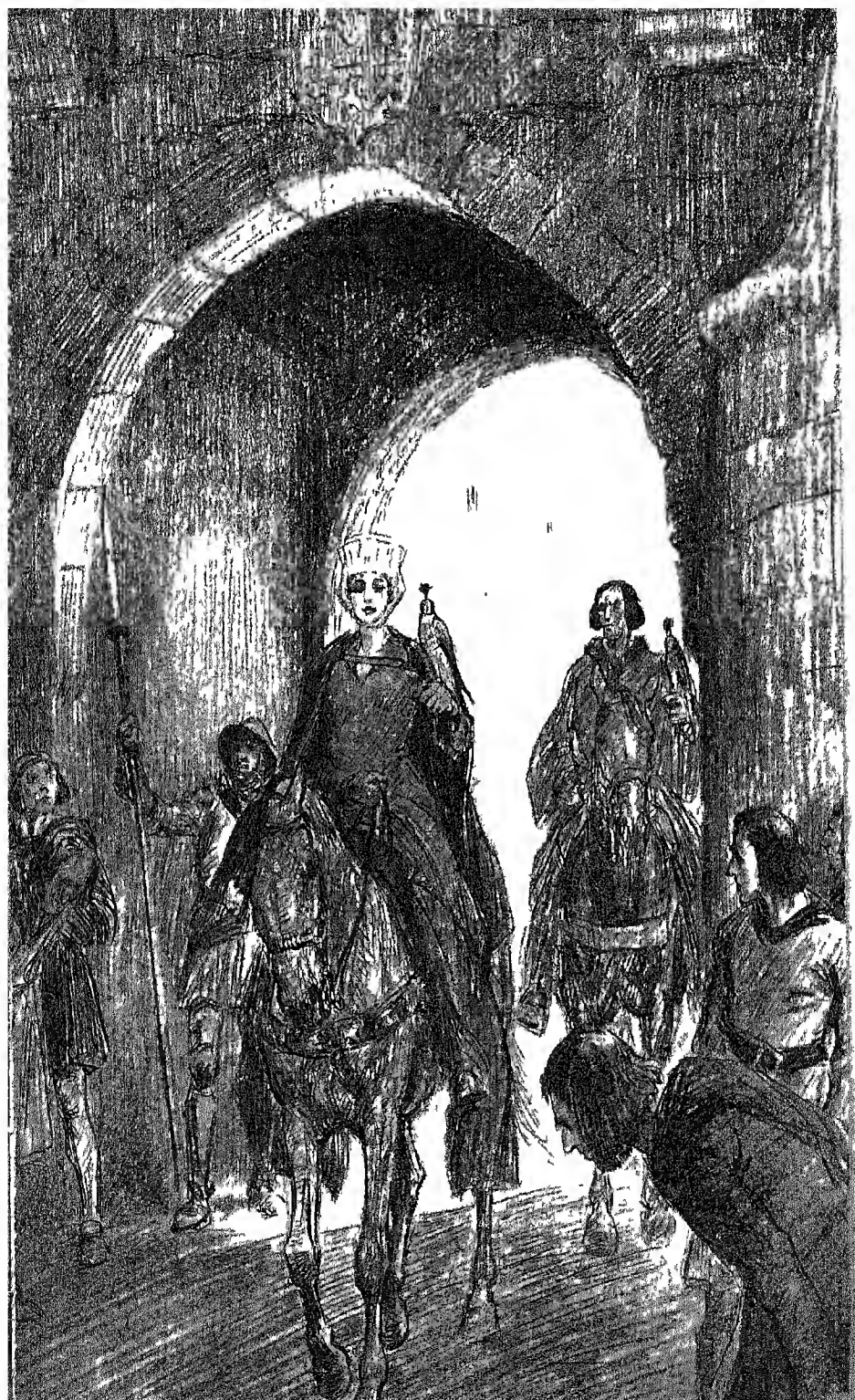
Ladies certainly went hawking in very early days, riding out with their own merlins on their wrists and quite possibly flying other sorts of hawks as well. Merlins, I regret to say, were mostly flown at larks, which no doubt, in those days, added a welcome change to ordinary diet in a quiet household! On the opposite page Mr. L. Edwards illustrates a great lady going ahawking.



Hood for a falcon.

Eastern hawks were always carried on the falconer's right arm, while in the West the left arm was used. The long-winged hawks were kept hooded, while the short-winged "hawks of the fist" were generally free. This may possibly account for the fact that Harold's hawk in the Bayeux Tapestry is shown free, but hooded hawks were not used in England till after the Crusades. In addition to her hood a hawk was

Fourteenth-century great lady riding ahawking.



furnished with jesses, swivel, leash and bell; the jesses being strips of light leather for her legs. To fit a hawk for the field much care, gentleness and patience was essential on the part of the falconer. In the Middle Ages a gentleman was judged by his horse, his hawk and his hound; all three betrayed better than any passport the owner's character to all those skilled to read. Single hawks and hounds were so appreciated and so valued that they were sometimes exchanged for a castle, a parcel of land, or a fair face!

The highest form of sport as developed in Great Britain was undoubtedly that of heron-hawking, which required plenty of open country, with no water near by, and over which herons were accustomed to fly to their fishing grounds. A heron found feeding provides no sport, but one sighted winging his way across country, high up, is a very different matter. As he sees the falcon approach he makes for high regions and with his light weight and great wings he can climb steeper than a falcon, as, though she flies faster, she has a flatter angle of climb and has to make bigger rings in order to climb above him for her "stoop." Meanwhile, the field gallops in the direction the flight is taking, so as to be at hand when the falcon "binds" to the quarry and they both fall to earth. The heron's dagger-like beak on the ground can be very damaging to the falcon, so it was necessary for the riders to "be up"—requiring an eye for country and a horse that would jump on occasion—though in open downland country ditches were probably the only obstacles. This type of hunting became exceedingly popular in England, both for the sake of the sport as well as the change in diet represented by successful falconry and had much influence in determining the natural characteristics of our field sports.

V

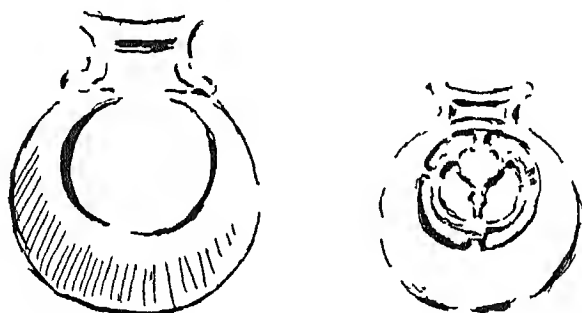
After the Crusades ideas on riding changed to some extent. Compared to the Crusaders, the Saracens rode with short stirrups, but for centuries men-at-arms of Northern blood continued riding long with legs thrust out straight as stilts in the now characteristic high-peaked saddles. Neither side probably appreciated any goodness in the adversary's method of riding; of that controversy more will be heard!

The biting of horses was also as different as possible. The Saracens, like their Moorish and Arab descendants, continued to use bits with high ports, riding with their hands held high and relying on the pressure of a high port on the roof of the palate to stop their horses, and on neck-reining to turn them—instead of on pressure of the bit on the corners of the mouth and lips, which has been the ordinary riding and hunting method of England for

ages. Saracen ideas of riding progressed in time with the Moors into Southern Spain, and thence spread and became known and recognised as a method of riding, even if it was not copied to any great extent.

The Moor and the Arab to-day, presumably descendants of the Saracens, curiously enough, have developed on two different lines. The Moor is a swordsman, he rides very short, uses a powerful bit and rides a stallion; the Bedouin Arab is a lancer, rides fairly long and uses a snaffle-bridle and rides a mare—sometimes with foal at foot!

From the Crusaders date also the horse-brasses, or as they are called face-pieces, horse-medals and sun-brasses, found in almost every country in the world, but nowhere in more variety of design than on the cart-horses of Great Britain. To the uninitiated appearing some crude form of decoration, in reality they are



Horse brasses with the moon as motif.

amulets connected with the safety of the driver and his team against the "evil eye." Most of the horse-brasses have come to us one time or another from the East; but one of the most popular—the symbol of the young moon, betokening increase and fruitfulness—is said to have had an Egyptian origin and to have come back with the Crusades, possibly on captured Saracen horses. (An interesting difference between old and modern crescents is noted by experts on these brasses; the really ancient patterns show a curious flattening of the tips of the horns of the crescent—a peculiarity they attribute to the early amulets having been copied from the Roman army of occupation and made from the tusks of wild boars lashed together with cord). On a cart-horse to-day we still frequently see bells, sometimes mounted on a terret on top of the bridle and sometimes on the harness saddle—a bell, of course, in the East ever being a scarer of evil spirits. The flaming sun is also popular, and the heart—which may possibly symbolise an elfin bolt, i.e. a flint arrowhead. However

that may be, a "set of horse-brasses," so prized by the old type of carters to-day in country places where old things die out so slowly, and in cities where people delight to carry on traditions, remains to remind us of the panoply and superstition of Chivalry.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion, an excellent horseman, and a true lover of horses, rode long in the typical style of Chivalry of his day, though it is unlikely that the Crusaders' horses were of the clumsy cart-horse type which some modern artists love to depict. Limosin horses, the pride of Mediæval France, were brought by the Saracens into Provence. Light horses were appreciated then as now for ordinary riding purposes. Spanish jennets became popular in England about the time of Richard's succession. In his *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* Mr. C. Wilkinson points out that when the Crusaders attacked the treacherous Greeks in the Island of Cyprus "the Arab horses ridden by the defenders outdistanced those of the Christians who pursued them."¹ It was from the defeated Greek ruler of Cyprus, one Isaac, that King Richard obtained his famous Eastern-bred "Fawvel"—a magnificent bay horse that carried him through the Palestine campaign and became as renowned for his speed and stamina as his owner for courage and judgment, and may have been "a true Arabian."

Richard's greatest fame in his own day lay in subduing castles—hitherto believed impregnable—and in the use of new weapons—such as cross-bows, siege-engines and mangonels. It is the development of bows and arrows from the simple little accessories they once were to arms of precision that we must now glance.

Though on the surface seemingly little to do with hunting we shall find that theories of warfare and particularly instruments of offence at this time kept more or less in step with those for hunting. Later, a cultivated Gaston de Foix would lay down the rules for the Flower of Chivalry that hunting was to be done in "a knightly fashion." Cœur-de-Lion was not so squeamish. He was too ruthless a general and too keen a hunter not to use any new idea or development that offered him any possible superiority. In this connection the introduction of the cross-bow had considerable effect in warfare and on hunting.

No cross-bows are shown in the Bayeux Tapestry, which is peculiar, as undoubtedly the Normans introduced them into England. Before their introduction the only type of bow was the ordinary short-bow, such as was used by the Romans, Saxons and Celts—the simple string of which was pulled by the fingers to the archer's chest. The cross-bow was an instrument of more

¹ This designation "Arab" will prove a stumbling-block in tracing the development of the light horse in Europe; the term is so loosely used by authors ancient and modern, experts and those ignorant of horses

deadly precision, having a string which was tightened by a lever-spring affair of various patterns, and was aimed with the bow held horizontally. Its power of penetration was so quickly improved (though not yet made of steel) and the wounds inflicted by it were so barbarous that its use was forbidden by the second Lateran Council in 1139. The use of the cross-bow became common during the Crusades, as its use against "infidels" was not considered wrong. Previous to this it was used considerably for hunting, or more correctly to-day—shooting, in various parts of Europe. It was said that William Rufus was killed in the New Forest by the bolt from the cross-bow of Sir William Tyrrell. Cœur-de-Lion's own death, in 1199, was caused by a bolt from a cross-bow—both mischances being regarded by many as a judgment for using the unsporting weapon.¹ King Richard himself, however, was an extremely good shot with a cross-bow. A story is told that when he was laid low with a virulent kind of fever during the siege of Ascalon he had himself carried out on a stretcher so that he could fire his cross-bow at the Saracens on the walls; and to the delight of the soldiers he seldom missed his mark.

In England the cross-bow never came into universal use—except in the defence of castles, for which it was well suited. It was practically superseded in the field by the characteristic English long-bow—of which more anon. In Scotland and Ireland the cross-bow was almost unknown, but on the Continent it had a great vogue and was not entirely superseded for "sporting purposes" for hundreds of years (until the invention of smokeless powder and modern shot-guns). Spaniards in particular preferred cross-bows to hand-guns even down to the time of the Conquest of Peru. In France, Italy and Spain cross-bowmen became a *corps d'élite*. The Genoese particularly were famous in the making and management of the cross-bow early in the Middle Ages.

There is pretty good evidence that well under two hundred yards was the effective distance of fire-power in Norman and early Plantagenet days, as it can still be seen in the design of many mediæval castles of this date that the architect did not consider eminences outside this range. For instance, Penrice Castle, in Gower, is not placed on the highest available spot—there is higher ground some two hundred yards up the plateau on which the castle is situated, and at Carnarvon Castle there is a little hill about three hundred and fifty yards away—evidently disregarded in the plans of defence as well out of range. The design of Berkeley Castle, strengthened in stone by Robert Fitzhardinge in 1155,

¹ William le Breton, Bishop of Tours, says of the death of Richard I: "Thus perished by the cross-bow, which the English count dishonourable, King Richard, who first introduced the cross-bow into France."

to-day the only mediæval castle still used as a dwelling-house by its owner in direct descent from the Middle Ages, shows conclusively that nothing more dangerous than arrows fired from a proximity of under two hundred yards was expected. (Consequently, when the Roundheads were so impious as to mount "engines" on the roof of the adjacent parish church—hitherto an unheard-of action on grounds spiritual as well as temporal—Berkeley Castle had to capitulate at once.)

The "bolts" as they were called, or blunt arrows, used in cross-bows were relatively roughly made for use in war, when great numbers would be lost, but for hunting the bolts were often beautifully made by hand, tapered and weighted correctly, and their shafts always had three feathers—generally goose or wild swan feathers—while the bolts for warfare had only two quills, and these were often thin shaped wood, horn or leather, instead of the grey goose quills. It must be remembered that at this time, and for several hundred years yet, vast areas of woodlands and waste ground were largely wild and undisturbed. Consequently, it was fairly easy to get close up to wild animals well within range for a cross-bow—and, as we shall see in the next chapter, this ease was a cause of grave anxiety to those concerned with the preservation of game animals, more particularly in the British Isles than on the Continent.

To-day many of us are faced with the same anxiety as to how to preserve the sport we have learnt to love—and it is useful to know that the question has been faced again and again in the history of Hunting, and somehow has always been solved.

CHAPTER VI

GASTON DE FOIX AND HIS "LIVRE DE CHASSE"

"Truly, I trow no good hunter would take his game
falsely."

GASTON PHŒBUS.

I

THE BOOK ON HUNTING BY GASTON DE FOIX, GENERALLY called his *Livre de Chasse*, remained the textbook on hunting during a long period some three hundred years after the Conquest, from the close of the fourteenth century to the end of the Wars of the Roses. This book crystallises an epoch in the history of Sport—particularly of Hunting such as we know it—still tinged with the colours of Romance and Chivalry. It shows us plainly how hunting for the pot had given way to hunting as a sport and pleasure, but which could only be enjoyed by the right people and in the right way. This was *La Vénerie*—the Sport of Kings—from which in a direct line modern fox-hunting has descended.

To understand this we must return to the Continent when the first phase of organised hunting was undoubtedly the *battue*, a crowd of men to drive the game towards a place where the hunters are hidden.¹ Similar circumstances give rise to similar conduct, whether of war or the chase. France at the time of the early Middle Ages was covered with thick forests and marshes in many ways similar to the existing "hunting grounds" of Indian princes to-day. The French feudal baron recruited his hunt-servants from among his serfs; feudal law giving him the rights of chase on his land.

The first method was to drive all the wild animals contained in a given area to the edges of the coverts, whence mounted hunters could ride down the selected beasts and slay them with sword, spear or javelin. This was rather like a Spanish *corrida* still to be witnessed to-day in outback parts of Spain. The next step was to use hounds for turning the selected animal towards the hunter waiting with bow and arrow or spear.

¹ As a matter of fact the French word "*battue*" which crept into our sporting vocabulary in Edwardian days to represent a slaughter of game, in France always, and still, means "a drive."

From *Roi Modus*, a hunting poem written previous to *Gaston Phœbus*, we learn that in French Royal Hunting three methods were used in succession. At first, after the district to be hunted was selected by the King or his chief huntsman, all the game was driven to it by means of small flags and long nets placed to prevent beasts breaking back. This space of several square miles was kept surrounded till the King and his party could come, usually the spot selected being on the edge of a great wood through which ran the carefully tended *forte-haies*—in France generally made of beech and elm—around exits in which hunters would be placed to shoot at the game or run them with hounds. The next step, after the preliminary drive of a district, was to seek out with the aid of a single hound one of the wild animals within the circle—a wild boar or a stag—which, when found, would be driven to the open, and greyhounds slipped with the object of bringing it to bay as quickly as possible with a run in view of a few hundred yards. If the selected beast doubled back a fresh relay of greyhounds would be used. Various members of the hunt and men on foot would be posted to give notice on their horns in which direction the beast was making; and when he was brought to bay, then big, heavy mastiffs would be unloosed, whose weight and strength quickly brought down the finest full-grown stag. The same method was used in wolf- and boar-hunting, the mastiffs being fitted with quilted coats, spiked collars and leather guards to prevent them being hurt by the cornered beasts, as wounds from tusks and antlers often proved fatal. (Note the boar hounds thus protected in the illustration p. 185.)

Gradually, better *chiens courants*, or running-hounds, were bred—so-called to distinguish them from other hounds. Previous to the thirteenth century it is very doubtful indeed if there was any pack of hounds in Europe with enough nose or speed to run a stag to a halt. Philippe le Bel King of France had but six couple of hounds, six *braches* (fast hounds used for running down deer wounded by an arrow) and some greyhounds—although he was the only man in the kingdom to have a pack in his kennel. In 1318 Philippe V authorised all noblemen to hunt big game “by force and cunning” to distinguish it from hunting with the aid of nets, spears, etc. This hunting “*par force*,” i.e. by the strength of running-hounds, was the beginning of hunting with a pack of hounds from the find to the death. The idea developed gradually on the new lines brought from the East; and it was only made possible by improvements in hound-breeding, the fact that thick woods were giving place to more open country and that hunting now was practised as a science and an art worthy of the best brains in the country and the bravest men. This was *la Vénérie française*, which would be studied with almost equal seriousness

by cultured Englishmen, the influence of which remains in our fox-hunting to-day. To be considered *gros veneur* stamped a gentleman in the Middle Ages; "*c'était un gentilhomme, car ses chiens l'aimoient fort*," said the old chroniclers.

Gradually, the Kings of France increased the personnel of their hunting establishments. Jean II, both before and after his period of captivity in England, had a hunting *equipage* consisting of eight *veneurs*, four *écuyers*, eight *aides* and eight archers all dressed in green for the summer stag-hunting, and grey for the winter boar-hunting.

Gaston de Foix tells us that his book was begun in May 1387, i.e. some time before the decay of the Age of Chivalry—at one of the most interesting periods of the history of Europe. The tables were now turned for Englishmen; far from being governed by French-speaking Normans, the Kings of England now owned personally the greater part of France. People were beginning to take a new interest in reading—writing a book was no longer the occupation entirely of cloistered monks, though the technical side of writing remained in the hands of clerkly artists. Custom and tradition had preserved the practices of centuries; "Romances" had embalmed facts of Charlemagne and King Arthur—to suit the tastes of the times. The written page began to take the place of the story-teller and the troubadour. Grave Latin documents referring to matters of Church and State, above the heads of common folk, began to give way to the language of the people. Men began to write of things that interested them. What more likely than that Hunting, almost a religion and a ritual, should be one of the first things written of by laymen? What more interesting to people of taste and judgment than Sport? Next to Breviaries, text-books on hunting began to be most popular. *Roi Modus* is one of the oldest of these hunting-books which have come down to us, the author of which is unknown. He does not deal with personal ideas and experiences in the manner of the author of the *Livre de Chasse*, Gaston de Foix, one of the acknowledged leaders in the world of Sport of his day, partly accounting for the influence of a book lasting at least three hundred years. As is the case in so many books by an amateur—used in the best sense of the word—Gaston de Foix's *Livre de Chasse* is attractive and charmingly written.

The Counts of Foix were a distinguished French family which flourished from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were among the most powerful French feudal princes. Living on the borders of France, having intercourse with Navarre and frequent communication

with England, they were in a position of almost complete independence and favourable for intrigue on either side. The author of the *Livre de Chasse*, Gaston III (1331-91), was the most famous member of a family renowned as fighters and Crusaders. This Count de Foix is generally called *Gaston Phœbus*, i.e. the sun, by most of his contemporaries, on account of his fair smiling face and good looks, and his book is often referred to by this name. The chronicler Froissart wrote enthusiastically of Gaston Phœbus as a paragon of Chivalry: "I never saw one like him of personage, nor of so fair a form nor so well made"; and again: "in everything he was so perfect that he cannot be praised too much." And in the words of another old Chronicler, he was "distinguished all his life, especially in arms, in love and in hunting; he did not fear to war against the kings of France, England and Spain." He was related to the Plantagenets. He was renowned throughout the Feudal world as a great *veneur*. Gaston Phœbus had the misfortune to kill his only son and he was himself killed by a bear he was hunting. He combined his fondness for hunting with a taste for art and literature, rare until his book made it the fashion. You will constantly come across references to Gaston Phœbus, as well as to the book he wrote, *Deduits de la chasse des Bestes sauvages et des Oyseaux de proie*, by old writers in France and England for many generations.

Gaston de Foix wrote after the custom of the day, by dictating to one or other of his several monkish secretaries. He tells us that most of the book was done after supper—the only daily meal this great hunter used to have on his return to his great castle of Orthez from hunting in the neighbourhood. The Count sat at his high table surrounded by his gentlemen, torches provided the light, while at his feet sprawled some of the sixteen hundred hounds his Kennels were said to contain, and perhaps including the four *græ* or "great hounds" brought from England by his friend Froissart, whose names are known to have been Tristan, Hector, Brun and Rolland. Around the hall would be trophies of the chase, great antlers of red deer, ibex, chamois, record tusks, with skins of bear and wolf spread over the customary hard chairs, benches and the stone hearth.

The original edition of the *Livre de Chasse*, which was written for Philip the Bold, at that time prisoner of war in England, has disappeared—but there are various other manuscript copies which have been preserved down the ages with loving care. The best example in England is one copied some forty years after the original, for the library of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, and now in the British Museum; but the finest of all is that known to collectors as "MS. 616" in the Librairie Nationale at Paris.

This splendid parchment codex is one of the most beautiful examples in the world of the art of illuminating ; it contains over eighty miniature masterpieces, illustrating field sports of the day. Experts date it between 1440 and 1450 ; being probably made for Charles VII of France. Thereafter it had an adventurous existence. About 1470 it belonged to Aymar de Poitiers, who married a daughter of Louis XI ; Jean, son of Aymar, being the father of the notorious Diane de Poitiers to whom we refer in Chapter VII. Jean de Poitiers barely escaped with his life on account of treasonable conspiracies with another *grand veneur*, the Constable de Bourbon, and all his vast possessions—including this magnificent codex—became forfeit to the King Francis I, himself a renowned huntsman. The book was evidently much admired by the King and travelled about with his gold plate and other personal luggage, till at the disastrous Battle of Pavia Francis was taken prisoner, his gilded tent sacked and the precious codex looted by some Swiss mercenary. Eventually, it passed into the possession of Bernard de Cles, who gave it to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and it remained in the Habsburg collection for over a hundred years. Then after Turenne's victories in the Netherlands it passed back by devious channels to the appreciative hands of Louis XIV, who also loved hunting. Finally, escaping Revolution and War, it was deposited as one of the nation's finest art treasures in the National Library in Paris—where everyone interested in the history of Hunting should see it. Every phase of the mediæval hunt can be seen, though the figures are rather wooden and perspective curious the detail is perfect and true. It must have been painted either under the eyes of an expert or by a Lionel Edwards of the day. Hitherto, pictures had been impossibly crude, particularly of sport ; but we shall find from now onwards that pictures, starting as illuminated MS., will give us a better idea of contemporary life and manners than anything else.

The art of the tapestry-weaver was also making great progress in covering bare walls of castles. Great panels of arras were carried about by the travelling court or other great folk along with their personal possessions, and a sporting motif became very popular for these, repaying the closest study. No doubt many patrons insisted on the work being accurate, down to the smallest detail. We can see magnificent examples in the set of four tapestries woven in Flanders about 1440 for Margaret of Anjou, who married the Lancastrian King Henry VI. This set now belongs to the Duke of Devonshire and is lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum, to whom I am indebted for permission to use the photograph on p. 168. The scenes are all exceptionally interesting from the hunting point of view, as they illustrate contemporary hunting,

horses and hounds, showing running hounds, greyhounds and mastiffs. British art of the same date lagged sadly behind the Continent, though many of the best patrons of art were Englishmen. Foreign-taught or bred monks, no doubt, did marvellous work in abbeys and monasteries throughout Great Britain, but much of it has been destroyed.

English Heraldry of this time well repays some study. From the accession of Richard I to the death of the "last of the Barons" coats of arms and crests are extremely interesting from the sporting point of view—beasts and birds of Field and Warren



Coat of arms of the Earl of Breadalbane, incorporating the heraldic devices of a boar's head as crest and "supporters" consisting of "two harts proper."

and Chase being among the favourite and most artistic devices. Many subjects showed the influence of the East. For example, "the Lion of Scotland" evolved probably from the ancient native wild-cat, Cœur-de-Lion's own "leopards" possibly having the same origin—Eastern lions, leopards, griffons, unicorns (the mediæval conception of the rhino) becoming the fashionable devices. Is not the "white hart" badge of Richard II one of the most beautiful emblems of all time?

It is familiar to us still as the sign over so many old inns throughout the English countryside.¹ The device of the House of Hanover—a white horse

galloping—and of the House of Savoy—a white horse rampant—are two of the most famous crests in History.

Castle building was gradually giving way throughout Europe to Cathedral building, with increased decoration. In stone carvings, bosses, tombs,² and superb glass windows, animals and birds of Venerie were portrayed by great artists and craftsmen for the pleasure of their patrons.

¹ The explanation being that Richard II, a pacifist, was ahead of his time in that he aimed at some sort of State ownership of the inns throughout England. Many of his old White Hart Inns remain to-day to remind us of the last Plantagenet King, weak Richard of Bordeaux, son of the famous soldier we call the Black Prince and the Fair Maid of Kent. By the way, the sign is often the picture of a fallow deer!

² In the Sforza Castle at Milan can be seen the bas-relief carved for the tomb of Gaston de Foix—showing his great horses as well as the funeral horses in their trappings.

II

One of the most interesting features of Gaston Phœbus' book is the idea it gives us of the feelings towards hunting in the Middle Ages. Evidently, then as to-day, there were people with an anti-blood Sport complex, not on modern humanitarian lines, but against hunting—as a waste of time and land¹ To some extent the later Plantagenets had to bow to this point of view when they gave up the ruthless application of Forest Law (in the same way that Queen Victoria at a later date was moved to abolish the Royal Buckhounds). Gaston quaintly argues in his curious stilted French, which translates into the English of the day, that “the life of no man that useth gentle game and disport be less displeasable unto God than the life of a perfect and skilful hunter, or from which more good cometh The first reason is that hunting causeth a man to eschew the seven deadly sins. . . Secondly, men are better when riding, more just and more understanding, and more alert, and more at ease, and more undertaking, and better knowing of all countries and all passages In short and long, all good customs and manners cometh thereof, and the health of man and his soul. For he that fleeth the seven deadly sins as we believe, he shall be saved, and in this world have joy enough and of gladness and of solace, so that he keep himself from two things. One is that he leave not the knowledge nor the service of God, from whom all good cometh, for his hunting The second that he lose not the service of his Master for his hunting, nor his own duties which might profit him most.” Gaston de Foix agrees that Satan finds mischief for idle hands: “Idleness is the foundation of all evil imaginations . . . whereas a good hunter is always kept busy, for there is . . . enough to do, for whoso will do it well and busily, especially if they love hounds and their office Wherefore such an hunter is not idle, he can have no evil thoughts, nor can he do evil works, wherefore he must go straight to paradise.”

In the Middle Ages people loved the whole day, from early dawn, “when the hunter riseth in the morning, and he sees a sweet and fair morn, and clear weather and bright and heareth the song of the small birds, the which sing so sweetly with great melody and full of love. And when the sun is arisen, he shall see fresh dew upon the small twigs and grasses . . . this is great joy . . . and proves how hunters live in this world more joyfully than any other man” We can tell that the hunter—of Northern

¹ Though Green's *History of the English People* says of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, that when a hunted hare took refuge under His Grace's horse, “His gentle voice grew loud as he forbade the huntsmen to stir in the chase while the creature darted off again to the woods”

blood at least—had passed out of the stage of killing for food, killing for pleasure, killing as a test of skill as in early times—to the satisfaction of the cultured individual at being in contact with supreme Nature, understanding, and at one with her—sensations we shall find all down the Ages among evidence of great hunters and great naturalists—such, for instance, as Izaak Walton, White of Selborne, Seton Thompson, Theodore Roosevelt, E. C. Selous, D. G. Hudson and hosts of others, known and unknown. This pleasure in Nature had characterised gentlemen in Ancient Egypt and Hellenic Greece, but Gaston de Foix seems to have been the first to write down the idea afresh at the beginning of our modern civilisation. He possessed that dash of poetry or touch of the artist's soul—characteristics which still distinguish the finest type of sportsmen from the ruck and merely "killers" of the pump-gun pattern.

Love of the wild animal is for the first time in Northern Europe apparent. St. Francis of Assisi began to teach that no man's religion was worthy of the name if he could needlessly tread upon an earth-worm. St. Francis was the first to call the birds "little brothers"; it was incredulous that he "built nests for the birds, put fish back into water, assisted the frozen bees, saved the wolf of Gubbio from death and fed the birds at Christmas." This was a completely new influence to mould the "very parfait knight and gentil."

This attitude accounted for much of the pleasure of mediæval hunting. There was no "speed" thrill about it—the modern steeplechase element being absent in any shape or form. But for the riding followers there was hardly a moment in which there was "nothing to do"—a state so quickly approaching boredom. Every man out hunting was part of the hunt, and had an active share—any failure to do the right thing entailing loss of sport for everybody. There were no "followers" in the modern sense—you were a *veneur*, i.e. a hunter, and at the right times you had to ride for a view, turn or stop hounds, let go *relais*, assist at the *curée* and, above all, everything must be done in the proper manner. Every person out hunting was much more knowledgeable than the majority composing a "field" to-day about the habits of the animal hunted—"its life, its wiles, its nature" being studied from boyhood up.

The horses of the period could not have gone fast, as they were most certainly small to our standards—probably about 14.2 for hunters; but as hounds were relatively slow and much of the country was wooded this did not matter; everything was slowed up. Mediæval hunting was certainly leisurely, but it was never for a moment dull, and often it must have been difficult, dangerous and unpleasant.

Two kinds of hunting spears were in use in the Middle Ages ; one which horsemen used was hafted like a lance with a long, sharp, knife-like blade with a metal cross-piece preventing it from entering too far into the body of the animal. The footmen's pike was for self-defence, stronger and heavier, with a wide blade shaped like a sage-leaf ; it had a horn cross-piece and, like the infantry pike, needed both hands to use it. Most riders carried a sword and a hunting-knife with a wide blade, used for skinning.

The first hunting horns used in France were short, curved and made from the horns of oxen and occasionally of ivory. By the fifteenth century nearly all hunting horns were made of metal—bronze, silver or gilt and were chased or enamelled and were much longer, such as the beautiful silver-gilt horn belonging to Francis I. English-made horns became very popular at a time when metal horns were coming into use ; being often sent as presents to foreigners.

From the time of Gaston de Foix onwards the technique of hunting had become such a fine art that skill and knowledge counted more than pure dash and courage, and " doing things the correct way " gave more pleasure than the actual death of the hunted animal. The sun shining through the green woods, the cry of the hounds, the efficient checking of them from hunting the change, the qualities of individual hounds and the technical skill of hunting—such were Gaston's own pleasures in hunting. He finishes the " little prologue " to his book : " I never saw a man that loved the work and pleasure of hounds and hawks that had not many good qualities in him ; for that cometh to him of great nobleness and gentleness of heart of whatever estate the man may be, whether he be a great lord, or a little one, or a poor man or a rich one." To-day this sentiment remains true in many hunting people.

When the " great hart " stood at bay, or the fierce wild boar broke away, it was the leading *veneur's* job to save the pack from antlers or tusks ; good hounds were almost irreplaceable. One among the first up—it was expected to be him of the highest rank and so most experienced—had to give the death-blow " in knightly fashion," i.e. by hand with the short hunting sword ; lack of skill or a slip risked death or mutilation. Perfect self-confidence, knowledge, skill, a quick eye, judgment and coolness were needed. Experts were on the look-out to criticise ; it must be done just right. Men on foot might carry sharp-tipped spears to save themselves ; hungry men and poachers used bows, or, horror of horrors, even the cross-bow to kill game—but in Gaston's opinion these were " unfair and false " means of obtaining sport. Game must be " taken dangerously and in knightly fashion " ; this was the true spirit of *Venerie*. In Gaston de Foix's

opinion, the finest, because the most difficult and dangerous, sport was to kill a wild boar from horseback, aimed only with a short sword. No hunter who thought himself a *veneur* would allow the killing of any Beast of Venerie to be delegated to an inferior—not from love of butchering, but from a knightly desire to do the thing well. The idea of a professional huntsman to kill game did not come in for a long time—until the invention of gunpowder had removed the danger. Danger and the way of meeting it is an integral part of the tradition of hunting. Throughout the Middle Ages the man proved a good *veneur* made a good soldier.

Of all modern "sports" big-game hunting—before the invention of super-rifles and telescopic-sights¹—most closely approached mediæval conceptions of hunting. To-day big-game photography retains much of the charm and all the danger.

The ancient *battues*, or the collecting of game into special preserves and enclosures to be slaughtered for pleasure, was condemned by Gaston Phœbus. Typical of his Age and breeding he preferred to pit his own individuality against a wild animal in its own surroundings; and this attitude towards Sport remained fashionable in aristocratic circles throughout Northern Europe till the close of the Age of Chivalry—and has lasted to our day.

Teutonic ideas developed definitely on different lines. German ideas of Sport, such as were so strongly evinced in the seventeenth century onwards, are interesting, but had little bearing on Hunting as we know it—except in so far as the personal influence of Georges I, II and III affected the social institutions of their day. Many German princelings and Austrian grand-dukes, out of all proportion to contemporary social sense, "subordinating the comfort of their human subjects to that of the antlered beasts," probably deserved what they got—sooner or later, political strife and disaster resulting, as we see to-day, in magnificent estates broken up or handed over to "municipal enterprise." English landowners have been sensible at compromise.

III

Hunting *par force* of *chiens courants* the red-deer stag—or as he was always called in the Middle Ages "the hart"—was judged by Gaston Phœbus to be "the fairest hunting that any man may hunt after." Mediæval stag-hunting is the direct ancestor of fox-

¹ "There are two classes of men who shoot big game and generally they are two different types of men. There is the man who does his own hunting or stalking and makes all the arrangements for himself, whom I call the big-game hunter, as opposed to the other man who leaves the hunting or stalking to a native shikari or white hunter and the complete arrangements to an agent. This latter man does the actual shooting only, and him I will term the big-game shooter" (General R Pigot, *Big Game Hunting*)

hunting as practised for the most part in England to-day, and modern hunting in France is still steeped in the customs of *Venerie*. Practically all that Gaston Phœbus tells us in his quaint French about the habits of deer would be corroborated by any "harbourer" in the West Country or a head-stalker in Scotland to-day.

In the Middle Ages, as neither hounds nor horses were fit to go very fast, the *veneurs* preferred to hunt the bigger, older, rather fat stags—or what they called "in pride of grease." The "grease," or fat, was a valuable domestic commodity in the Middle Ages for making rush-lights, as well as a sort of soap, etc. A six-year-old—then called "a hart of ten" and now called a "warrantable deer"—was what they liked best to hunt. The day was divided into (1) seeking or "questing," (2) harbouring, (3) moving him, (4) hunting or "sueing" him, (5) retrieving, (6) the abbay, (7) the *curée* or rewarding of hounds, and (8) the rights.

Gaston Phœbus recommended the following procedure—which can be witnessed for the most part hunting in France to-day, and on Exmoor with the Devon and Somerset Staghounds—though the terms vary, and with the latter there is considerably more speed.

(1) Very early in the morning the *berner*, as he was first called in early Mediæval France and continued to be called in England until Tudor days, the "harbourer" as he would be called on Exmoor to-day, went out in country familiar to him to seek or "quest" for deer, particularly to discover the whereabouts of the "great harts." The hart-hunting months then lasted all summer, from May to September; by the time of the *Livre de Chasse* it was a punishable offence to hunt in the close season. During the summer the bigger stags were generally found by themselves in favourite haunts, close to good feeding-grounds sheltered from wind and midday sun, flies, and the interference of man.

The ways of a stag have not altered down the Ages. A great hart hunted a few times is very wary and crafty—"malicious" as Gaston Phœbus called him! He is apt to make double trails to his favourite *lit* or "ligging," to keep young "staggards" to attend him as sentries, has more than one "bed," and rests in such a position that he can see down-wind of his hiding-place and scent any danger from up-wind; so that it is not easy to get near without disturbing him or putting him to flight. It must be understood that "drawing" for a warrantable deer with a pack of hounds was even more impossible in Gaston Phœbus' days than it is now—because of the great distances covered, uncertainties of finding, and probabilities of finding deer in company and other game likely to spoil the hunt. The undergrowth was

thicker, there were few really open places, cultivated country could not be ridden over, nor the game in the whole district disturbed more than was necessary. To-day on Exmoor you can see the "tufters"—a few couple of steady old hounds, put into a likely place where the "harbourer" has reported "warrantable deer"—"to rout" out the "great hart," separating him from company and to move him into open country before the waiting pack is laid on. We shall hear how this kind of hunting developed in Elizabethan days, but at the time of which Gaston Phœbus wrote, hounds had not been bred to hunt well as a pack. Probably most kennels in the Middle Ages consisted of all sorts and sizes of hounds, and certainly little was known as to getting them into condition fit for long days. For this reason it was the custom to use hounds in "relays"—three or four couple being loosed at a time, then caught up again when they were tired.

So it was that the method then in use, and for many a day, was to send out the *berners*¹ or as they came to be called later on in France *valets-de-chiens*, in the early morning to all likely haunts in the vicinity to *quester* or "seek out", and bring news of the movements of deer to the *Assemblée*, or Meet, of the lord and his friends later in the day. Each *berner* was accompanied by his hound—called in France a *limier* and in English a *liam*, *lym*-hound or *lymer*. According to Gaston's description of *limiers* in his day, they were never a distinct breed of hound, though some kennels and some breeders were famous for the good *limiers* they produced—such as the Monks of St. Hubert's Monastery who early had a far-famed breed of hounds with wonderful noses; probably from such *limiers* our best bloodhounds and pointers have descended. Sometimes, any steady old hound was used as a *limier*, but the custom was growing to select a likely puppy at an early age—Gaston de Foix says at a year old—and especially enter him to hunt by scent on the line of deer and other game, and, of course, never to give tongue. The *limier* was held on a short leather lead called a *liam*—whence the name. On a good *limier* depended the day's sport.

Each *valet-de-chien* worked his respective beat trying all the likely places for great harts, the good *limier* by his behaviour plainly showing whether deer were nearby; if so, how stale the line, and which way the deer were moving. Together they might succeed in finding the slot or tracks of a great hart who had passed fairly recently. The *berner*, of his great experience, would

¹ "Berner" comes from the Old French *bermier*, *brenier*, a man in charge of hounds or a kennelman. It seems to have been derived from the French *brenier*, one who paid his feudal dues in bran for the lord's hounds. *Brenage*, being land held by the payment of the refuse of all grains, suitable for the feeding of hounds. The word remained in use in England long after its discontinuance in France. Gaston de Foix uses *valet-de-chien* in the English sense for "berner."



soon recognise the age, weight and appearance of the stag from the tracks made and from the "signs" showing what he was feeding on, how he moved, etc. Then they had to track him very carefully, probably up to some quiet thicket or copse within which a good *veneur* might judge the hart to be lying down. He then would make a wide cast round with his *limier* to find out for certain if the hart had moved on elsewhere.

(2) When quite sure that the hart was within a given circle the *berner* marked the place by breaking small twigs off a tree or bush as a sign called *la brisée*. He must then return as fast as possible to report at the *Assemblée*, taking with him a specimen of the stag's *fewmets* or droppings as evidence in support of his statement as to the hart's size and condition. (This custom, no doubt, checking any over-optimism on the *lymerer's* part!) These he would carry in his hunting horn, stoppered up with grass; and the lord and his friends—all expert *veneurs*—would regard them with interest and excitement, to decide which of the harts reported on to hunt that day. Probably three to five *berners* had been sent out; on some special occasions there might be more. All would be experienced *veneurs*, who could be trusted not to disturb the ground. This "questing" must of itself have been exciting sport. To-day it is very thrilling to crawl among feeding deer in the Highlands of Scotland without disturbing them, and it must have been great fun working a *liam*-hound to harbour a "good bodied stag" for the lord's hunting.

The *Assemblée* was generally held at some well-known spot—like the Meet of to-day; Gaston Phœbus recommended "a fair mead, well green, where fair trees grow all about, the one far from the other, and a clear well or beside some running brook." Coming across some such delightful-looking spot, who has not desired to produce a picnic forthwith? And indeed the mediæval lords had wonderful taste and judgment in all things. Early in the morning "the butler and his assistants" started off for the chosen gathering place with pack-horses carrying delicious cold meats, patties and wine in skins and "laid clean cloths on the grass and set out the divers meats."

The correct thing was for the *berners* with their hounds to arrive and give in their reports before anyone should eat. When the lord at the *Assemblée* had decided on "the greatest hart and highest deer," everyone set to and had a quick meal—laughing and talking and chaffing as they ate—this was correct behaviour. (A time would come when these picnic meals at the *Assemblée* were the most important part of the day for many of the ladies and gentlemen who attended, but in the Age for which Gaston wrote, the hunting-field with few exceptions was for men only and governed with the same reality as war.) Then, with everyone's immediate needs

satisfied "the lord shall devise where the relays will go . . . and then shall every man speed him to his place"

The curious thing to us about this mediæval hunting was the use of these *relais*. As already mentioned it was not considered possible, or desirable, that hounds should hunt in a pack laid on altogether as we do now. Much of the hunting was done at the height of summer when it would be too hot for hounds to remain active for long. So skilled *veneurs* were sent off to likely places where the hunted deer might be expected to pass; a *relais* consisting of two or three couple of hounds held on *liams* until the order was received to slip them. On this posting of the *relais* depended much of the success of the hunt. Judging when to put on a fresh *relais* was one of the finer points of mediæval hunting; Gaston de Foix advised that the younger hounds be put on first as the scent was then freshest, the older and best hounds being reserved till the stag doubled back or the pack was in difficulties. The older hounds were also better at keeping out of danger when the hart stood at bay.

The *relais* gone to their places, each *relais* in charge of an expert *veneur*, the lord and his friends, with the first *relais* of "running hounds" led behind them in couples—or "*hardelled*"¹ as it was called in England—followed the successful *berner*, whose job it now was to "rout out" or move the great hart he had harboured that morning (3). The *berner* went straight to his marked *brisée* of the early morning; "he must be sure before the pack is laid on that they have the rightful game in front."

All sorts of things might happen, other game might intervene; it was a responsible job to move the great hart correctly and get him to leave his covert. A special call on the horn announced the "gone away," whereupon the lord commanded the "*Laisser Courre*" to be sounded on the horn and amid cheers and holloas from the company the first *relais* was uncoupled and laid on, either at the "*lair*" (the bed) of the stag, or on his *fues* (the slot or trail), and the hunt proper began. "Then hath the hunter great joy and great pleasure . . . he leapeth on horseback with great haste to follow his hounds." The *limier* with his *valet-de-chien* followed on in the rear in case their services should be required later, at a check, or as it was then called "when hounds were at fault."

It was, of course, definitely understood by all in the Middle Ages that *chasse à force de chiens courants* was a gentleman's sport. Only gentlemen rode to hounds and all gentlemen were

¹ The New Forest Buck Hounds are the only pack in England in which *hardelling*—or, as it is now called, "harling"—can still be seen. The Devon and Somerset having recently abandoned the practice for the more convenient one of shutting hounds up in an empty stable or barn.

veneurs : the better the *veneur* the better the gentleman. In France only those of gentle blood took any part in hunting at all, other than the menial jobs ; but in England, where class distinctions have never been so clearly defined as they were on the Continent, throughout the Middle Ages "the baser sort" used to run on foot with hounds.

With regard to the appearance of the hounds used in the Middle Ages—it is difficult to be definite. The pictures of the time are not easy to identify with written descriptions, the meanings of words and names alter every generation and most of the good illustrations are later by at least half a century than the relative letterpress. What is now important is that Gaston de Foix refers to hounds that hunt chiefly by scent and give tongue to a more or less degree as *chiens courants*, literally "running dogs"—i.e. what we call hounds—as distinct from mastiffs, terriers, greyhounds, etc.

Gaston de Foix wrote of his best *chiens courants* as "of middle size, of a brown-tan colour, with a black muzzle . . . some be good and some evil. . . . The goodness of hounds comes of right courage, and of the good nature of their father and mother." From further description of these "good hounds," they were both roughish and smooth-coated, extremely intelligent, with good noses—some perhaps did not throw their tongues over-well, some were inclined to hunt too much by sight, while others evidently were lacking in drive or useless on a cold scent ; the Count stating that his Spanish hounds were the worst offenders. He describes his hounds in quaint phrases, from which we can extract the English equivalent that they had "great heads, large ears—well hanging down—great breasts, shoulders and backs ; with good thighs, straight hocks, great legs—not too long—and great round feet, with great claws" ; their sterns were "set on high and nearly straight . . . the best have tails without much hair." They were mostly tan and black in colour with a little white on chest. It is likely that both the modern blood-hound and the dachshund contain a lot of this good old mediæval blood which the Normans introduced to England.

"Hunting with hounds," says the Count, "is a fair thing and pleasant to him that loveth them. The seeking and the finding is a fair thing, and a great thing to slay with strength and for to see the wit and knowledge that God hath given to good hounds and for to see good recovering and retrieving (of the line and the scent) and the masterly and the subtleties that be in good hounds, for with greyhounds and other hounds the sport lasteth not." Hunting with *chiens courants* from the find to the death was the best, because the most difficult of sports ; but greyhounds were

also used at times in the *relais* to run down a tired stag. Plate VII gives an example from MS. 616 of mediæval hounds.

There is little doubt that Gaston de Foix's *levrier* or "greyhound" covered a wide species of dog, varying from what might be called later the Irish wolf-hound, the Scottish deer-hound, as well perhaps as the smaller, smooth-coated typical greyhound of to-day. The powerful greyhound used for wolf-, bear- and stag-hunting was known as the *levrier d'attache*, while the smaller, nervous hare-hound was called the *petit levrier pour lièvre*. (Plate X overleaf illustrates both these types, some being smooth- and others rough-coated.) In addition, there were *allauntes*, or "*allans*," being fast, fierce dogs with wide, flat heads, in appearance something like large bull-terriers which were used on the Continent in boar- and wolf-hunting in some of the *relais*.¹ *Métifs*, which were often mongrels and cur-dogs and eventually became "mastiffs," were especially useful when the wolf or boar turned at bay; they were never valued so highly as the *chien courant*. The French *métif* was originally much used as a guard-dog. They are illustrated indifferently with prick ears and flop ears, rough coats and smooth, and were probably a most ill-defined breed, developing in later ages to the type of the Great Dane or German boar-hound. In France, more than in England, dogs seem to have been classed rather by their work than by their looks or breeding; a *levrier* being really any dog that ran down his game, a *harrier* any dog for harrying game, a *chien courant* any hound that hunted the line, a *liam* any hound that used his nose alone. Whereas in England, I fancy, dogs were kept early much more carefully to a breed; the English have always been good breeders of blood-stock. It is at all times difficult to generalise—most of the old French illustrations are later than the written matter, while in England no one was capable of drawing or painting a hound correctly till a much later date. So we must be prepared to consider French hounds during the Middle Ages as a collection of dogs—more than as a pack of hounds—and rather a curious-looking collection at that.

Among the most famous kennels whence came some of the best hounds in Europe was the Abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes. Du Fouilloux states that these hounds were originally bred by the Abbots and always kept in honour of their saintly founder—who gave up hunting to work for the glory of God and His Church,

¹ *Allan*, *Allaunts* are thought to have been brought to Western Europe by a Caucasian tribe called *Alains* or *Alani*. This tribe invaded Gaul in the fourth century and then continued their wanderings and overran Spain. It is from this country that the best *alans* were obtained during the Middle Ages. Dogs that are used for bull-baiting there are still called "*Alanos*." *Allaunts* are mentioned by Chaucer; *Veltres* were also known under the name of *Alan* and resembled the Great Dane.

as related in Chapter III, p. 84. Until 1789 the Abbots of St. Hubert continued to send six of these hounds annually to the King of France. The St. Hubert breed spread throughout Hainault, Lorraine, Flanders and Burgundy. They were both black and white in colour—showing a mixed origin; the best were considered either all black or all white—thence came in time two separate breeds. The “St. Huberts” had excellent noses but lacked courage, pace and drive. They were often used as limiers and are believed to have been the root-stock whence are descended the so-called “English Southern Hounds,” the Scottish sleuth-hound and the modern bloodhound. The best were “cole-black,” and from them may have descended our modern “retriever”—a name anciently given to all hounds that would fetch back game shot by their master with his bow or struck down by his falcon.

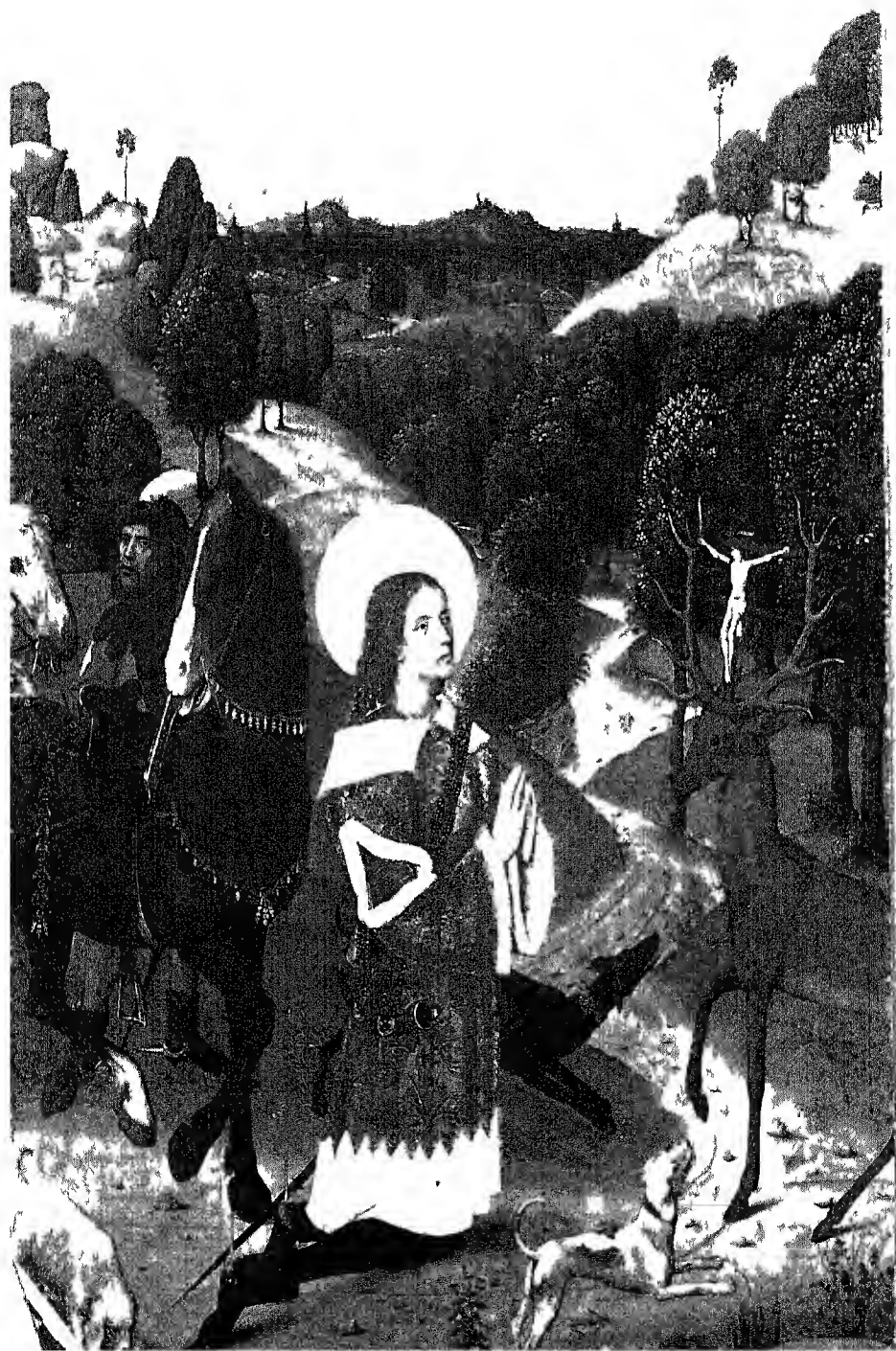
But to return to where we digressed about the mediæval hounds—the Chase of the “great hart.” Only those who have had some experience can understand the pleasure and excitement entailed in *le prise du cerf*, “taking a great hart.” The red deer stag of ten points is very clever and wily—especially so if he has ever been hunted previously. He will run bad-scenting country to throw off hounds, turn in his tracks, circle round and back, purposely put up other deer to make hounds “hunt a change,” sink himself in water—“take soil,” double backwards and forwards up or down a running stream—using every possible “ruse” to throw off hounds, as well as travelling some eight to fourteen miles straight across country.

The art of sueing (4) in the Middle Ages was knowing when and how to help hounds, blowing correct calls on the horn to give information to those in front or behind, and riding on ahead to get a view without crossing the line so as to be able to report the condition of the hunted stag. Sometimes *rascaille*, or “rascal deer,” i.e. hinds, or deer too small to hunt, would intervene, a roebuck or perhaps a wild sow and her offspring might jump up in front of hounds and spoil the hunt. Then it would be the duty of the nearest *veneurs* to stop hounds as soon as possible by riding to turn hounds from the line. The *veneurs* had no whips to crack, but all the company riding carried long hazel switches called *estortpoires* which the old writer naively remarked could be used to “chastise one’s valet or the hounds as required,” as well as to protect the rider’s face from branches and twigs in thick woodlands.

When hounds cast themselves to regain the line, they were said to be “retrieving” (5). Finally, when the stag stood at bay (6) the first *veneurs* up must hurry to get to hounds, and keep

*The vision of St. Hubert, patron saint
of hunting (by Master of Werden),
(c. 1500).*

(National Gallery)





them out of reach of murderous antlers, and at the same time joyfully blow the *Prise* on their horns to announce the taking of the stag to the rest of the hounds and followers. When all had arrived there was much blowing of horns and baying of the hounds, together with cries of *Tailliant ! Tailliant !*

This *Tailliant*, or *Tally-ho*, remained for several hundred years in use in France, but only in the hunting of the wild red deer. *Tailliant* was also shouted when the hunted hart was viewed or the right hart "moved." When the bay had lasted long enough, the chief lord, or someone delegated by him, had to "spay him behind the shoulder forward to the heart." Then everyone up blew for "the *Mort* or death of a great hart." This was the *Hallali* which had come back from the Crusades and eventually became one of the most picturesque ceremonies in France.

All things had to be done properly ; and the most curious to us is the ceremony after the *Mort* called the *Curée* (7), or the "rewarding of hounds," which has always been of particular importance in French hunting and is still performed, though in modern French hunting generally reserved until the return of the pack to kennel.

Gaston Phœbus describes exactly how the dead hart is to be "undone"—or, as we should call it stalking in Scotland, *gralloched*. Portions of the carcass were put aside for the company, and then a pack-horse should arrive with wine for the hunters and bread or flour for the hounds. The latter, mixed with blood and titbits, was laid out on the skin or *cuir* of the stag—hence *Curée*—and given to the hounds as their "reward," while horns were blown and the company all cried *Tailliant ! Tailliant !* The word *curée* passed into the English language as "quarry," a term often now used for the animal in the course of being hunted, which is wrong, and not the true sense of "quarry" at all. So for the sake of tradition real hunting people to-day never refer to "quarry" in this sense. The "rights" (8) were those pieces of the dead stag divided amongst the company—a ceremony which came to have more significance in England than in France, on utilitarian grounds.

Gaston Phœbus refers also to the chase of the otter, marten, roe, ibex, chamois, bear, badger, wild goat, wild cat and lynx. Fox-hunting he mentioned as a digging operation for the purpose of getting the pelt—fox fur being much sought after ; fox-cubs were also coursed by greyhounds in the same way as young wolves. Gaston de Foix even mentions reindeer or caribou hunting, which he is presumed to have enjoyed during a visit to Scandinavia, but next to stag-hunting, hunting the wild boar certainly seems to have been his favourite sport. The boar was

Gaston de Foix's hounds (fifteenth century).

(Top picture) *The curée or rewarding of hounds.*

(Lower) *His raches or running hounds.*

(MS 616. Bib Nat, Paris)

sometimes tracked where he *routed* or "rooted" in the fields and woods, and *sued* or hunted much in the same way as a stag; but when he stood at bay—which would happen with the large, more powerful, heavy tusked sooner than in the case of the three- and four-year-olds—the *veneurs* came up and killed him with their special boar-spears or swords—fitted with cross-pieces to prevent them from penetrating too far into the animal, getting stuck and giving the latter a chance to charge his assailant. Any hog-hunter to-day would probably agree with Gaston de Foix as to the difficulties and dangers; men and horses as well as hounds being often cut to ribbons by the great tush teeth. The wild boar hunted in the great woods of France were of an incredible size in those days, though probably the smaller pig gave the best sport then, as in India to-day.

From "MS. 616" we see that wild boar, and occasionally deer, were also shot with cross-bows and long-bows, caught in nets, and snared and trapped—probably their serious depredations on corn lands and vineyards putting them at times and in some districts outside the laws of *Venery*. Likewise, wolves¹ were trapped, netted and poisoned, as well as methodically hunted down as cubs.

Gaston de Foix's description of hunting chamois, wild goats and ibex are interesting, in view of the scarcity there was to be of these game in later days. In his time they were evidently all plentiful, and were not confined to steep and difficult country, as he mentions lymers and relays of greyhounds to run them down. Of chamois he says: "There is too great multitude . . . and no great skill in taking them," which sounds unbelievable in an age when cross-bows were the only weapon! But all game in those days feared man much less than at a later date, when the introduction of fire-arms scared every animal not killed or maimed.²

¹ To-day *Lieutenants de Louveterie* hold their annual dinners in Paris and must easily be the oldest association of land-owning hunting men in the world. Set up by an ordinance of Charlemagne in 813, appointing two officers within each county to be responsible for keeping the land clear of wolves, the *Lieutenants* are still responsible for the preservation of game and the protection of agricultural interests. During very severe winters wolves still occasionally appear in France and the *Lieutenants* have to exercise their ancient office. The uniform of the *Lieutenants de Louveterie* is a jerkin with copper buttons, and a raw-hide belt bearing a plate engraved with wolves' heads.

² It is a rather interesting fact that Gaston de Foix and his friends who so enjoyed this hunting also enjoyed the magnificent tournaments to which some women came riding astide dressed like men, "a very shameful thing," says the chroniclers, as also the fashion to have caps made shaped like a man's helmet. At the same time the men, paragons of knightly virtue, had long hair, a rose behind their ears, and wore silks, furs, velvet and jewels in richest profusion. Edward III, at the height of his popularity in England, wore magnificent clothes, as he rode through London with his archers and men-at-arms returning from France laden with spoils.

The Count goes most thoroughly into the care of hounds in health and sickness. Some of his "remedies" sound most terrible, but possibly a few were useful—if there was not much the matter!

One amusing illustration in the *Livre de Chasse* shows the Count teaching his "huntsmen" to blow hunting-horns—which appear to be ordinary ox-horns (*cornes*) with a metal mouth-piece and bands attached to a long leathern baldric, carried over the wearer's shoulder and hanging down to his knees. A great white hound lies beside the Master, watching the struggles of the novices to get a sound out of the clumsy horns; anyone who has ever tried to blow a hunting-horn for the first time will sympathise with the swollen cheeks of the blowers! All the company out hunting carried horns to give information to each other rather than to call hounds.

The *appels* on the horn became in France: *cornure du départ, d'assemblée, de queste, de chasse de vue, de descroy* (fault) *requeste d'eau, de relais, d'aide, de prise, de curée, d'appel de retraite, d'appel de chien* and *de retraite*.

There are many other interesting bits in Gaston Phœbus, but little else has any connection with modern ideas on hunting, and for the time being we will leave hunting in France with the note that about 1404 Charles VI reinstituted La Louveterie for dealing with the destruction of wolves which were a serious menace in many parts of France. At this time the Equipage de Venerie Royale consisted of a *Grand Veneur*, or chief huntsman—later one of the highest officials at Court, but at first probably the best and most experienced *veneur* in France—a staghound pack of twenty-eight *chiens courants*, eight *limiers* and twenty-eight others—*levriers* (greyhounds) and *mastins* (cur-dogs).

IV

England being so closely connected with France, all these ideas were familiar to the ruling caste the other side of the Channel. The first treatise on Hunting known to have been written in England was in French, by a Frenchman called Twici, huntsman to Edward II, but the *Livre de Chasse* was translated into English, and by no less a personage than Edward III's grandson, Edward, the second Duke of York, that brave sprig of the Plantagenets who commanded the vanguard at Agincourt. In days when there was no idea of copyright, a translator was not required to give any credit to his original, hence this book, *The Master of Game*, the first on hunting in the English language known to us, was long regarded as the Duke's own entire work. But Mr. Baillie-Grohman has proved it to be for the most part a

careful translation of the *Livre de Chasse*, and judges it to have been written between the years 1406 and 1413, a time that this turbulent young Duke was imprisoned in Pevensey Castle on the charge of treason. Evidently the idea of writing such a book to occupy unaccustomed leisure came into his head, as it has to many other prisoners; and it is more than likely that as a boy he met or even hunted with his famous kinsman, the great Gaston Phœbus. More interesting still is the fact that the Duke added five chapters completely his own, as well as various interpolations in the translated text, which give us the best idea of English royal hunting between the age of Chaucer and the reign of Henry V—to whom the Duke dedicated *The Master of Game*—while the latter was still “Prince Hal.” Master of Game was the name given to the *Grand Veneur* of the English Court; it was one of the chief appointments under the Crown.

The Plantagenets all loved hunting, and were expert *veneurs* from the founder (Henry I) to the present Duke of Beaufort, descended from one of the greatest of them all, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

It was Edward II's French huntsman, Twici, who wrote a treatise to which we have already referred, for the instruction of Englishmen (about 1323) in Norman-French in the question-and-answer, then fashionable. Edward III was so fond of hunting that he invaded France in 1359 with thirty mounted falconers, sixty couple of large hounds and as many greyhounds. It was Edward III, by the way, who appointed Sir Bernard de Brocas as hereditary Master of the Royal Buck-hounds,¹ an office which remained in that family till the title was granted to Anne Boleyn's brother, who loved to hunt in the Forest of St. Leonard's in Kent.

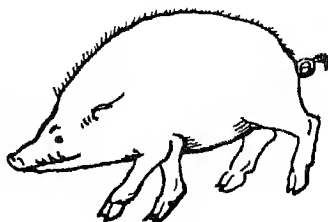
There are a few serious differences to note between the hunting customs of England and France, and we may be sure that those mentioned are authentic, as the author himself was Master of Game to Henry IV.

It is evident that in England of the time there were very few dangerous animals to hunt—there were no bears, very few wild boar and practically no wolves—though the head of a wolf-spear was recently unearthed near Boars Hill, Hants, the residence of the Chief Scout—within the confines of old Wolmer Forest, showing that there were some still lurking in that wooded part of Hampshire. Wolves did not entirely disappear from England till the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509). It is significant that in

¹ The Royal Buck-hounds were maintained until late in the reign of Queen Victoria.

the seventeenth century the grand old Celtic wolf-hound practically ceased to exist. (See *The Irish Wolf-Dog*, Father Hogan, and *The Irish Wolf-Hound*, Miss Gardner)

Owing to the growing scarcity of red deer because of the lack of waste land, practically the only stag-hunting in England at this period was on royal lands or by royal permission, so according to the Duke of York: "When the King or my lord the Prince or any of their blood will hunt for the hart by strength," the Master



Wild boar (Du Fouilloux).

of the Game had to warn the night before the "Sergeant of the office, yeomen berners of horse, and also the head lymerer." These four made all arrangements, telling the "yeomen-grooms" where to bring the horses, the "yeomen berners" where to bring the hart-hounds at sunrise, and in the "grey dawning he that was to harbour the hart went to meet the forester of the bailie in the place where the King intended to hunt." Already the character of English hunting country was different to that of France, where woodlands have ever been a feature. Probably England was more open, with woodland and moor equally divided, and at this time little, if any, really dense "forest"—much like present Exmoor, the New Forest and the wilder parts of Scotland, Yorkshire and Ireland—a fact which has had considerable influence in the development of our distinctive hunting customs.



*Mediæval
hunting-spear
for wolves.*

Natural downlands, such as most of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire consisted of before the enclosures, and the South Downs and the Yorkshire Wolds have ever been favourite hunting grounds for English kings. Before Windsor took its place, Rockingham Castle in the present Pytchley country, was the chief residence outside London for the King. Was it accidental that Rockingham was the centre of the best hunting in England during the Middle Ages? English downland at that time consisted mostly of open spaces dotted with scrub—juniper and whitethorn—such, in fact, as any patch of downland to-day reverts to immediately it is neglected. Deer and hares kept down the grass. Where any deer abound, whether red or fallow, it is unlikely for there to be many trees, as both are terribly destructive to young growth

of the more valuable timber species. Consequently, as we might expect, in England the liam-hound and the lymerer were less important than they were in France. In fact, a harbourer is advised by the Duke of York to rely on the local knowledge of the forester in charge of the district and "the evidence of his own eyes"—the lymer being used merely to "set the covert," or make sure by casting round that the wanted hart was there and undisturbed, which in modern stag-hunting is called "making a ring walk." The harbourer often took a "scantilon," the measure of the slot (the "trace" as it was then called), by breaking off the end of the stick he carried to the exact size, which he could show to the King. It all depended on the type of country, the Duke says, "oftentimes a deer is harboured by sight of man's eye, but who should do it well it behoves him to be a skilful and wise hunter"—a procedure which would have been impossible in the France of Gaston de Foix. Likewise, in the directions as to relays, we can tell how much more open English "forest" country must have been.

In England the *Assemblée* was early called a Meeting, a Gathering, or simply the Meet.

The Duke of York allows us to infer that the hart-hunting season lasted from early May to late September, as in France, where the exact dates were from May 3rd to September 14th, though Twici seems to infer that in his days stags were not hunted until the middle of June. "Grease time," which one often reads of in old books about stag-hunting, refers to the end of the summer when deer are at their fattest; deer grease being then valuable for a number of domestic uses.

The King generally went to see the "finding," unless he preferred to be with the relays. At the "finding" the King is directed to blow—"if he can blow"—three *mootes*, followed by his Master of Game and the next huntsman in importance, concluding with the lymerer—a noise which must surely have stirred all game within a large area! It seems that it was the custom in England for two or three couple of hounds held by "fewterers" to be taken along to the "finding" "to have him sooner found"—a practice which the Duke condemns as an "unskilful" method of hunting. Evidently he knew that to the French purists this would have been an outrageous insult to the lymer! Edward III is believed to have been the first ever to hunt unharboured deer with hounds. (Lord Ribblesdale, *The Queen's Hounds and Stag-Hunting Recollections*, 1897.)

The English characteristic of enjoying a "quick thing across country" was already evident, for the Master of Game advises as to casting off relays quickly, "for so shall they sooner have him at bay." A *vauntlay* was recommended for this purpose when the

hart was showing signs of weariness—being a relay cast off before the hounds already hunting have passed. This must have been rather hard on the body of the pack, but may have laid the foundations of the pace and drive and stamina so characteristic of English-bred foxhounds to-day.

The hunt was conducted much as in France, save that being able to see more of the hunted animal, less depended on hounds' noses and their propensity to stick to the hunted beast—so valuable in France. Horns were blown in much the same way, to acquaint the various members of the company as to which way the hunted hart had gone, to bring on the lymerer, to warn again "rascal" deer, or when hounds be "on a stynt" i.e. checked; but I fancy that Englishmen blew horns more for use than for effect or ceremony.

The company were so to follow that "they came not in the *fues* (i.e. over the line), nor in front of the hounds." They were to get a view when possible, and even "meet the hart" if they could. Again, one notices a difference—in France, riding to hounds was the more important art, whereas "riding to points" is evidently no new English accomplishment!

Hunting terms were similar. An English deer "doubles and ruses to and fro upon himself" trying to get rid of hounds, "he beats up the river" when he swims up-stream, he "foils down," and he "goes to soil" when he stands in water. In the old days it was said that he was "couched" or "squatting" when he lay down; when he stood still in covert he was "stalling."¹ To "cast his chaule" meant that his head was drooping, showing he was tired. A hart was "moved" from his "lair" or "ligging," his scent was his "fues," he was "quested" or hunted for, and "sued" or chased. All deer not chaseable or "warrantable," such as stags in poor condition, or young ones, were classed as "folly" or "rascal." These two terms of Venery have passed into the English language as expressions far removed from their original signification—deer worthless for hunting! Likewise "riot"—used by English *veneurs* as a term for anything not the true game, often hunted by hounds with a better cry, thence signifying the making of unwanted noise—is now civil commotion! Hounds were "in the rights" when on the right line.

A hunting language contained a lot of Norman-French derived from the Norman ruling class, even in the time of the Master of Game, who added many little touches to his original, and so would certainly have stated the fact had expressions differed materially from their Continental equivalents.

¹ Is it possible that "stalling" used of an aeroplane losing flying speed is really a term of Venery?

Stag-hunters used the following :

Le douce, mon ami, le douce !—"Softly, friend, softly !"—to hounds when uncoupled and close to their stag.

Cy va, cy va, cy va ! to call hounds when the hunted stag was viewed.

Ste Arere !—"Get away back !"

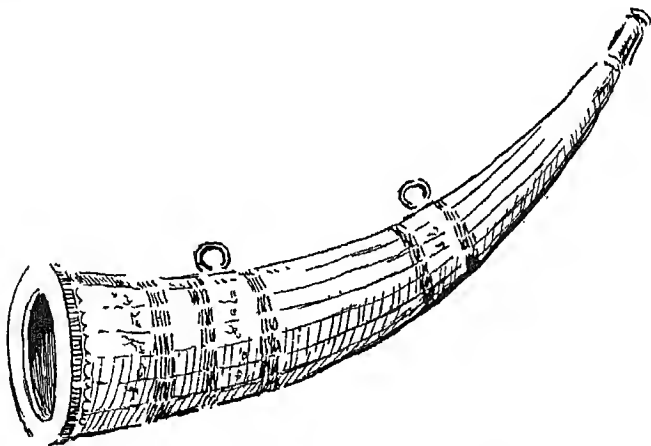
Oyez à Beaumont, oyez, assemble à Beaumont !—"Hark to Beaumont, hark, get to him !" for the other hounds to get on to Beaumont.

Illoeqes !—literally "here in this place," from the Latin *illo loco*—is sometimes suggested as the original of the often-abused *Yoicks*, or what is more likely the huntsman's *Il-lew-in-there !* as he is drawing a covert to-day.

So howe ! So howe !—to hounds on the wrong scent.

Ware, riot, Ware ! we still have to hounds chasing a rabbit !

It is interesting that of a huntsman the Duke of York wrote : "He must be active and quick eyed, well advised of speech and of his terms, and ever glad to learn, and that he be no boaster or jangler."



Fourteenth-century hunting horn or oliphant.

The Master of Game, as well as Gaston Phœbus, placed much importance on the correct blowing of hunting horns because, as Twici wrote in the time of Edward II : "Each man who is around you, who understands Hunting can know in which point you are by your blowing," but the *cornures* were less elaborate to blow. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries hunting horns made in England were much prized on the Continent. The Duke of Burgundy bought in 1394 "un cor d'Angleterre garni d'argent

doré" for twelve francs, and Louis d'Orleans paid one hundred and seventeen francs for twenty-three English horns, while Henry Bolingbroke sent the Dauphin a present of three large hunting horns.

It is not easy to determine exactly what was blown by the old *veneurs*, Twici expressing the notes as *trout, trout, troumour-out*, etc., while a certain Hardouin de Guerin who wrote a hunting poem sometime after the *Livre de Chasse*, included fourteen hunting "calls" for the plain type of ox-horn as used in his native Anjou. Of course, as yet, there were no long metal horns with divers notes for playing fanfares; the calls were distinguished by long and short notes—as to-day. The principal sounds on the mediæval hunting horn, according to *The Master of Game*, were a *moot* or single note, sounded long or short; and a *recheat* or four-syllabled sound, now called "doubling the horn." The *recheat* preceded or followed by a *moot* seems to have comprised the most constantly recurring melody; to the ancient *veneurs* our modern horn music would have sounded slovenly and uninformative. Everyone had to learn to blow correctly. The *Parfait* or "Perfect" sounded when hounds were on the right line, the *Prise* for the taking of the deer, the *Menée* on the return home, and the *Mort* or Death—were the principal "blowings" mentioned by the Duke of York. Any rider thrown out of the hunt or lost blew the *forlorn*, and any of the company hearing this melancholy sound answered by blowing the *perfect* to show which direction the hunt had taken—a custom surely very welcome to many in the modern hunting-field, particularly in wooded country!

After the Death, the King or chief gentleman present directed whether the whole deer should be given to the hounds or "undone"—always the practice in France. If the latter, it must be done "woodmanly and cleanly," and the Duke lays stress on woodmancraft as being "so well known in England that it was not necessary to describe it in detail." Perquisites or "rights" were allotted to the berners, lymerers, kennelmen, foresters and park-keepers. The remains and the washed paunch were generally reserved, as in France, for the hounds at the *Curée* or, as it came to be called in England, "the Quarry." The French custom of mixing tit-bits with bread to give to hounds on the stag's skin does not seem to have been general in England—the English Duke recommending a clean patch of grass for the *Curée*. Sometimes the lymers received the ears and brains as their "rights," and on occasions when the whole carcass was given to the pack the lymers had both the shoulders. It is curious that the expression "rights," which has come to mean so much to the English working man, was originally a term of Venery! "Rights" was an important ceremony in England, more so than any

"blowings." Finally, the King and the Master lifted the hart's head by his antlers, showing it to the coupled hounds "to make them bay right well," and then on the word being given hounds were "loosed to their reward," while all the company present holloed or "blew the death." This was sounded again and again with a pause lasting "half the time of an Ave Maria"—as the Duke quaintly says—until the hounds had finished; then there was the last call for "Home." And "thus, the berners on foot and the grooms lead home the hounds and send on in front that the kennel be clean and the trough filled with clean water and their couch renewed with fresh straw." Lastly, the Master of the Game and his officials sounded the *menée* at the great hall door—"trut, trut, trororo, rout"—as the final ceremony marking the death that day of a great hart.

"And the hunt came home and the hounds were fed,
They climbed their bench and went to bed,
The horses in stable loved their straw,
'Good night, my beauties,' said Robin Dawe."

(*Reynard the Fox*, MR. JOHN MASEFIELD)

That evening the Master was to order that "all the hunters' suppers be well ordained, and that they drink not ale, and nothing but wine that night . . . that they may the more merrily and gladly tell what each of them hath done all the day and which hounds have best run and boldest." In this spirit has closed many a good hunting day in England since the Battle of Agincourt!¹

V

Regarding the horses of the day we can only rely on the miniatures in some of the ancient MSS. and early Italian pictures, etc. Undoubtedly, the horses ridden for hunting were small, but they were well bred, strong and hardy. Probably, in size and appearance they would approximate quite closely to our present show type of Welsh pony—a miniature heavyweight hunter, with bone, stamina, breeding, mouth and manners. Such a pony would be admirable to hunt on to-day—if hounds never went fast, there was nothing to jump, and a sure-footed, quick, agile and hardy conveyance was required. Breeds of horses were constantly being improved, chiefly at this time for size, to carry the increasingly heavy men in armour; though ambling nags and hacks were much in demand for ordinary travelling, hunting, and the use of ladies, clerics, merchants and the elderly, as well as of knights in between campaigns and on the way to the tourneys. Horses were

¹ I am indebted to Mr Baillie-Grohman's *Master of Game* for the translation and account of this English hunting

imported by all the Plantagenets—Edward III being a noted horse-breeder and Richard II owned “many a good horse of foreign breed,” including the famous “Roan Barbary, whom he loved as an only son.”¹

Practically all the old artists continued to draw their horses “prancing”—the legacy from Greece and Egypt. But from old writers we gather that the favourite gait in the Middle Ages was still the “amble.” In the Bayeux Tapestry “one comes to see the king” and his pony is going at the amble. Likewise, in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* the “gude wife of Bath . . . uppon an ambler easy she sat”; and in the *Tale of Sir Topaz*:

“His steed was all dappul grey
 Hit got an ambel in the way
 Full softly and round.”

In the Middle Ages, we often come across the expression “pricking” to denote speed, as in the sense:

“On palfrey and on stede
 He pryked both night and day
 Till he came to his contray
 There he were lord in dede.”

(13th century.)

And Chaucer’s monk:

“Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
 Was all his best, for no cost would he spare.”

Prick probably came from the idea of spurring on a horse. In the Middle Ages trotting was considered tiring for long journeys—as in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*:

“Whose steady hand was faine his steed to guide,
 All all the way from trotting hard to spare.
 So was his toil the more, the more was that his care.”

With regard to hounds and what they looked like in these islands, we meet with the same difficulty—that though we feel that breeds were better defined than on the Continent, there were no artists capable of depicting them for us. Greyhound or *græ-hound* as used so indifferently during the Middle Ages to designate a hound, is, as we have shown in the case of French hunting, difficult to ascribe to any definite breed. In England *levriers* were used as *harriers*, i.e. hounds for harrying the game—thence the English harriers, or as some of these came to be called,

¹ And to show what a lot of these horses there were in Europe at that time, it is said that 6,000 horses were killed at the same time as 1,000 knights in a terrible thunderstorm in France on April 14th, 1360. (*Philippa of Hainault and Her Times*, B. C. Hardy.)

"teasers" or terriers. (Harriers were not exclusively "currant jelly" dogs till a much later time.)

In these islands white has always been a favourite colour for hounds, *levrier plus blanc que flors de lis*—"whiter than the lily"—was the highest tribute to the beauty of a hound in the romantic Middle Ages. Froissart went home from Scotland riding a grey horse and leading *un blanc levrier*—perhaps like one of those he had taken as a present to Gaston de Foix. In the ancient *Boke of St. Alban's*, attributed to the mythical Prioress Dame Juliana Berners, but possibly excerpts from older and now lost sources, there is the well-known description of a greyhound—"headed like a snake, necked like a drake, footed like a cat, tailed like a rat, chined like a bream." A *rache* or *brache* at that time always meant a running hound with nose and speed—in England, Scotland and Ireland—*rache* generally the dog, and *brache* the bitch. Undoubtedly there were good hounds—"staunch and true . . . and full of courage"—highly valued and most carefully bred in these islands during the Middle Ages; probably G. de Foix's hounds, as illustrated on plate X, had their English counterparts.

A further fact emerging from a comparison of the *Livre de Chasse* and *The Master of Game* is the evident importance of hare-hunting in England. The Duke wrote: "The hare is king of all venery for all blowing and the fair terms of hunting cometh of the seeking and the finding of the hare," a sentiment quite alien to Gaston de Foix, who puts "the hart before all beasts." Already English huntsmen were beginning to handle a pack of hounds, as we hear that for hare-hunting hounds were only kept in couples until they reached the pastures where hares were expected to be found; the huntsman drew with his whole pack and there were no relays.

The language for hare-hunting was also a form of doggerel French—*La Douce, là il a été. So howe! So howe!* And there was *Illoeques! Illoeques!* when drawing for an almost certain find, and as they opened and went away, *Avante, assemble, avante!*—"On together, on! on!" Certain riders were ordered to head the hare if possible, and also "to prevent any hound following sheep or other beasts"—for which purpose it was advised to carry long switches!

When the hare had been "well chased, and is at last bitten by the hounds, whoso is nearest should take her whole from them and hold her in his one hand over his head high and blow the death that men may gather thither." Then one of the berners cut off the head, chopped the body into small pieces after removing the paunch and "rewarded" the hounds with a bit each, while "whoso is most Master" sounded the Death, every man "as he

beginneth joining in blowing and holloaing." As in hart-hunting, hounds were not expected to break up their game themselves, and this *curée* on the French plan remained a characteristic ceremony in English hare-hunting for a long time.

The fox was not a Beast of Venerie ; he was vermin, without protection.

" Though the beast of game
The privilege of chase may claim,
Though space and law the stag we lend,
Ere hound we slip, or bow we bend,
Who ever reck'd where, how or when
The prowling fox was trapp'd or slain "

(SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Roderick Dhu*)

The Duke of York said : " When men seek in covert for the fox and the hounds happen to find him, then the hunter rejoiceth for the exploit of his hounds, and also because it is vermin that they run to," and " if the hounds put up a fox while drawing for a hare a warning note must be blown that there is a thief in the wood " The fox was still without the pale when King Henry V at Agincourt wore as the badge in his helmet a fox's brush. In France the fox has always been considered vermin and only hunted for the sake of its pelt—highly prized for coat collars, etc.—and to extirpate a thievish neighbour. Consequently the French knights drawn up at Agincourt must have been astounded at this affront to Venery, and rightly took the sign as insulting !

But there is evidence that in England foxes had for long been hunted with hounds. In the wardrobe accounts of Edward II there is a reference to an allowance for " a fox-dog keeper," though as a " horse to carry the nets " is also mentioned one infers that fox-fur was required rather than sport of any kind ! And there is a delightful description in Chaucer's *Ploughman's Tale* of what must be one of the earliest recorded fox-hunting episodes :—

" Aha the fox ! and after him they ran
And eke with staves and many another man,
Ran Colle our dog, and Talbot and Gerlond
And Malkin with her distaff in her hand
Ran cow and calf and eke the very hogges
So fered were for berking of the dogges
And shouting of the men and women eke
They ronnen so, hem thought her heartes breke "

A fox-hunt to-day can cause similar commotion in almost any village still, showing that English country people have not changed very much since the days of Crècy and Agincourt !

The Duke of York also describes another sport which was typically English and at a later date would attain important dimensions

and excite the sarcasm of aristocratic foreigners. *The Master of Game* calls it "the manner of hunting in forests or in parks for the hart with bows and greyhounds and stable." There will be much more later on in Chapter IX about this hunting within a confined area; it approximated more closely to a modern "shoot" rather than to hunting, with deer instead of pheasants, arrows instead of guns. Probably in England in the days of the Lancastrian kings, hunting the great hart in the open had already become a much more precarious sport even for royalties than in contemporary France, for cultivation and red deer have never gone well together; and unless the King had time to make a long expedition to a Royal Forest, he was unlikely to find warrantable deer at short notice. Consequently a place that could be surrounded, or better still a pale park where deer were known to be, was likely to provide better sport for those who enjoyed killing as chiefest part of the sport rather than all the elaboration and time spent in "questing." A *stable* here meant the stationing of men and hounds on the boundaries of the hunting-ground to turn the game to the King. For this purpose there were greyhounds to course the game in the open and terriers "to tease" them inside the "stabled" bounds. The King, the Queen, their Household and friends would be placed in the most likely places for shooting with bows.

At this time England was famous for her bowmen, and shooting with the long-bow was the favourite pastime of the country people. There has been much controversy as to the distance an arrow could be sped destructively—some suggesting only eighty yards and others as far as three hundred yards. It now seems probable that "a bow-shot length" expressed a distance of some two hundred and twenty yards. Of course, the wind made a difference, "helping or hindering the aim, as luck would have it."

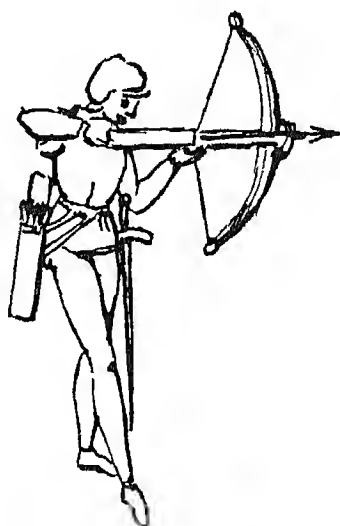
The English first borrowed the use of the long-bow from the Welsh living between the upper waters of the Wye and the Bristol Channel. Mr. G. M. Trevelyan in his *History of England* (1927) says that "as early as the reign of Henry II the long-bow had been known in Welsh hands to pin a knight's armoured thigh through his saddle to his horse's side." It was the Welsh who taught Edward I what a "long-bow" could do, but not till the fourteenth century can it fairly be called the English national weapon.

The first record of the success in warfare of the English long-bow was in 1298, at the Battle of Falkirk—thereafter Crècy (1346), Poitiers (1356), Agincourt (1415) added laurels to the fame of English long-bowmen. No wonder Englishmen despised the foreign cross-bow. Contemporary French writers of the era of Crècy allude to the English long-bow as being at that time a

new and deadly weapon of Continental warfare inspiring the dread such as that which surrounded the introduction of "Tanks" during the Great War. At the time of Crècy the chain-mail light armour worn by knights did not withstand the powerful long-bow. A shower of two or three thousand arrows falling from above must have been a nasty experience. Arrows drove the horses mad—being more deadly than the bullets from a mediæval handgun, as the latter, though it might smite hard and deep, did not gall a horse so badly. (Consequently men and horses tended to become still more heavily armed.)

The range of a long-bow was considerably greater than that of a cross-bow, even of a steel one; moreover, the long-bow could be discharged five times to the cross-bow's once. According to Froissart the French had fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen in their front rank at Poitiers in 1396, who were unable to use their weapons to the best effect because the strings had got slack in the rain, so they could not compete against the smaller number of English long-bowmen who could fire so much quicker and further.

Sir R. Payne-Gallwey states in his book *The Cross-Bow* that two hundred and ninety yards was the extreme effective range of a good archer with a long-bow, so that the stories sometimes set forth in popular romances of mediæval times anent great distances shot by arrows are likely to be much exaggerated¹ Even Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe* and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in *The White Company* being included in this ban by Payne-Gallwey, who took immense pains to prove his statement by personal experiments, and close study of old weapons, pictures and writings of the period. One cannot help regretting that tales of "splitting wands" at vast distances are untrue. "Drawing the bow," indeed, passed into a proverb to represent the exaggeration of fact! How likely that the stories told by old archers after a mug or two, warmed in the telling, and over a span of years it



*Cross-bowman of the time of
Froissart.*

¹ And it is amusing to see in pictures of the Martyrdom of St Sebastian, which occurred in A.D. 288 but was a favourite subject of the Italian artists of the Renaissance, that bolts shot from cross-bows are often depicted as piercing the Saint—whereas actually the Romans used a short-bow only

would be hard to remember whether the distance was two hundred and sixty or three hundred and sixty paces! Is not the same sort of mistake made by ourselves telling golfing and fishing stories, and would it not be likely that the old archer was anxious to prove the superiority of his own weapon over those new-fangled guns, which in their early days and perhaps in his were indeed no better? Payne-Gallwey states that even in 1790 the flint-lock musket of the Brown Bess type, carried by our infantry up to that date, was not such an effective weapon as the old English long-bow up to a range of one hundred and fifty yards, and that he would back a company of good archers at that distance to win easily against an equal company armed with "Brown Bess."

In England the cross-bow was used chiefly in the defence of castles, firing through loop holes—called *arbalestina*; and the long-bow for shooting deer. Sir R. Payne-Gallwey in *The Cross-Bow* says that "a skilful archer with his long-bow might quite possibly pierce a galloping stag with an arrow at a distance of seventy yards, and if he failed to strike his mark, send another shaft at his quarry before it was out of bow-shot." This advantage of quickness was an asset for "rapid rounds" against an on-coming enemy—whether on foot or mounted—and was, of course, very effective against on-coming troops.

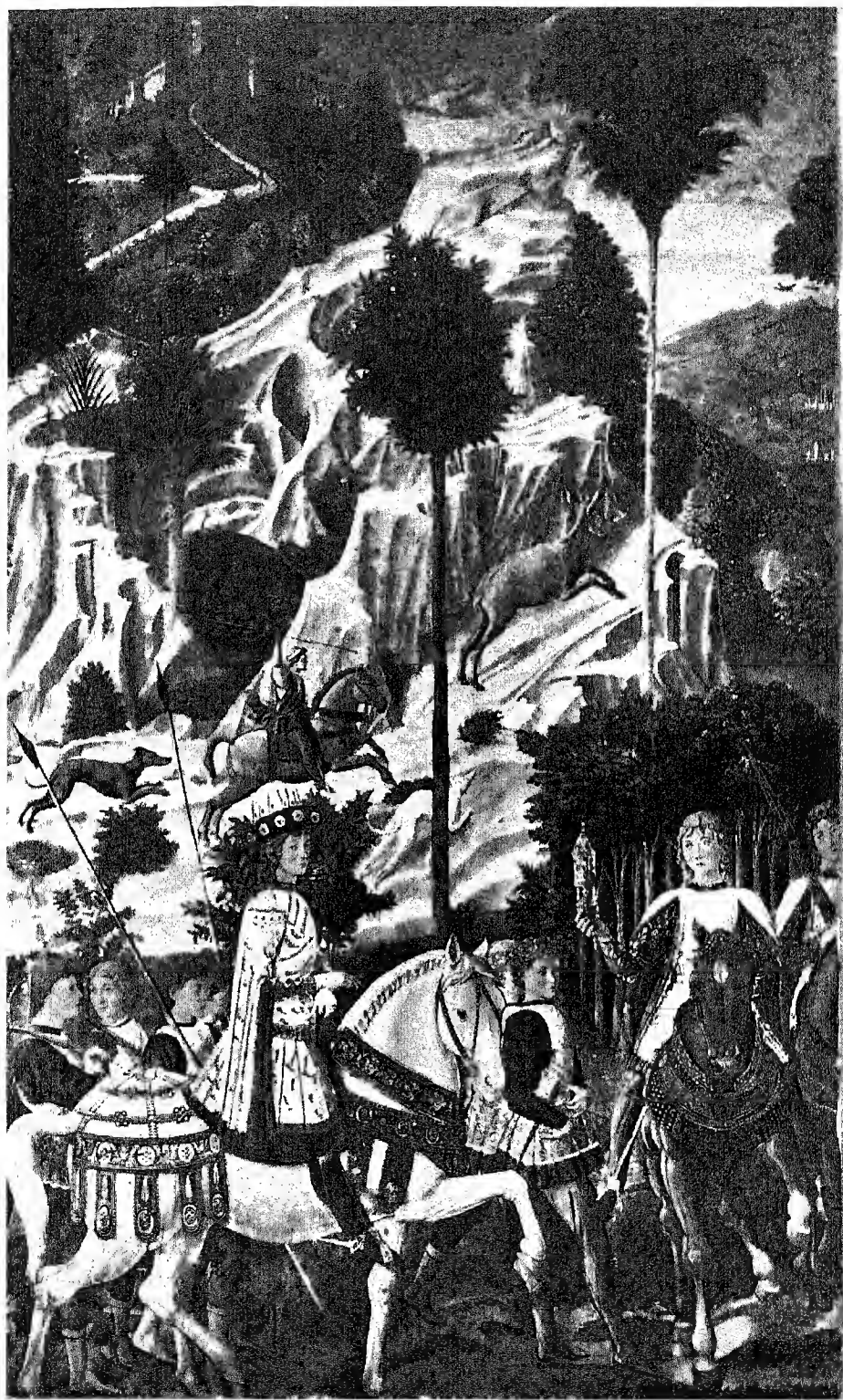
Anyhow, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the long-bow had become the prescribed English weapon both in war and the chase, and practice at the butts behind the churchyard became the chief sport and excitement of village life, and encouraged both by the Church and the King. To-day beside the old churchyard of the Parish Church at Kings Somborne, in Hampshire, there is still a mound to be seen, where traditionally the men belonging to the ancient royal manor practised archery every Sunday afternoon for many generations in the Middle Ages. Hugh Latimer, writing much later, tells how his father, the yeoman, "taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as divers nations do, but with strength of body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger. For men shall never shoot well unless they be brought up in it." Crècy and Agincourt were won by just such careful fathers as old Latimer. Contrary to general belief, the best bows were made of box, not yew, and you can still see Box Wood, in Gloucestershire, whence 'tis said came the bows made for Agincourt!

To use a long-bow well, a man had to be tall and strong, so as to draw the string to the right ear, whereas an ordinary short-bow was drawn to the chest only. No one could shoot so far or so

Fifteenth-century tapestry (woven about 1440 in Flanders, probably for Margaret of Anjou, wife of King Henry VI of England). One of a set of four panels showing every phase of contemporary sport—note the hounds, greyhounds, the curée, falcons, hunting spears, horns, etc.

(By permission of the Duke of Devonshire)





straight as the long-legged English archers for four hundred years. The French endeavoured to use the long-bow but abandoned the attempt as "a very peculiar gift of God to the English"!

The influence of the long-bow on hunting customs in England was clearly very great; skill with this weapon being much appreciated and tending to turn Hunting into "shooting" for a time. When such a hunt—or more properly "shoot"—was in progress, the Master of Game stayed within the covert directing beating and "teasing" operations, blowing his horn as and when game were about to break as a warning to the King to be ready. Probably roebuck, fallow deer, maybe a fox, a wild cat or two, "rascal" deer, would be first "voided," the last to leave their sanctuary being the highly prized great harts. If "hart-hounds are used to this type of hunting," says the Duke, "they should never be uncoupled before any other than their proper game," "teasers" or terriers being used to "void" the covert of the lesser fry. It must have been rather hard on the "hart-hounds" to have their game bitten in front of them by swifter greyhounds and wounded or killed by arrows! This kind of sport, so long as the bows used were long-bows, remained truly sporting, but the introduction of improved cross-bows, first as a lady's weapon, then to save time and exertion, eventually led to such wholesale slaughter of game in late Tudor days, that, as we shall see, James I was instrumental in having the practice discontinued.

When killed in this way, the correct thing was to collect the carcasses in carts and lay them out in a long line, "heads all one way . . . and every deer's feet to the other's back . . . the harts by themselves . . . 'rascal' in another line, and so on." And it is interesting that at big German and Austrian "shoots" just before the Great War the bag was laid out in exactly the same way as described by this Lancastrian prince. At the *Curée* at the close of the day the King allotted the deer to whom he desired—the Church, local gentlemen, officers and hunters "as he liketh best." There were many who had "rights." The Master of the harriers (the hounds that "harried" the game inside covert), for instance, could claim the "follies"—all the mistakes—as his fee. Any bowman "who smote a deer so that he was got before sunset had that deer's skin as his fee," while the "fewterers"—the men who led the greyhounds—if their charges caught a deer were entitled to its skin divided with the owners of the "teasers" who had started it. It is plain that the idea of "perquisites" belonging to the office of huntsman to a pack of foxhounds is of very ancient origin! All necks belonged to the hunters, "one shoulder and the chine belonged to he that undoeth the deer, the other shoulder is the forester's or the parker's fee that keepeth the bailie that is hunted," and so on. The Master of Game had

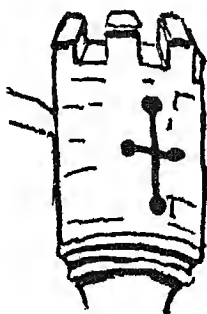
Fifteenth-century Italian horse and rider. (Note the hunting scene in the background.) Lorenzo de Medici as one of the three Magi. (By Benozzo Gozzoli, 1420-1497.)

(Riccardi Palace, Florence.)

to decide what was deer and what was "folly," between what one bowman claimed and another, as well be judge "of all other strifes and discords that belong to hunting." It is plain how the traditional omnipotence of "the Master" grew up in the democratic English hunting-field; then, as now, it was no light job to be M F.H. and Field Master!

This first Hunting book in the English language concludes: "Now I pray unto every creature that hath heard or read this little treatise of whatever estate or condition he be, that there where there is too little of good language that of their benignity and grace they will add more, and there where there is too much superfluity that they will also abridge it, as may seem best by their good and wise discretion. Not presuming that I had over much knowledge and ability to put into writing this royal disportful and noble game of hunting so effectually that it might not be submitted to the correction of all gentle hunters. And in my simple manner as best I could, and as might be learned of old and many diverse gentle hunters, I did my business in this rude manner to put the craft and the terms and the exercise of this said game more in remembrance and openly to the knowledge of all lords, ladies, gentlemen and women, according to the customs and manneis used in the high noble court of this Realm of England." (Shirley MS., British Museum.¹)

¹ *The Master of Game*, written by Edward Duke of York, and delightfully edited by W A and F Baillie-Grohman, should be read by every true amateur of English hunting history



Arbalestina.

CHAPTER VII

FOUR WOMEN OF THE RENAISSANCE

"Bon chien chasse de race."

Old French Proverb.

I. ANNE OF FRANCE

LOUIS XI, THE KING UNDER WHOM FRANCE FIRST BECAME a nation, was once offered a white hound by a certain "poor gentleman of Brittany," who believed that this dog was especially good and should be in the Royal Kennels. But the King, though a great hunting man, did not much esteem the gift; and being ungracious in manner as well as mean by nature, he refused the proffered white dog, saying that he "preferred his own perfect dunne hounds"—a pack of very good dun-coloured hounds (the Royal *chiens gris*). Probably any breeder of hounds, Master of any famous pack to-day, would feel equally inclined to avoid accepting some alien coloured dog, no matter how good his local reputation! However, the Seneschal Gaston de Lyon, also a keen hunting man, begged the King to "give the white hound from Barbarie to him for the wisest lady in the realm," a suggestion which did not suit the ungracious King either, and he enquired sarcastically who that lady might be. "Your daughter, the Princess Anne," replied the perfect courtier.

"Pish," answered Louis XI testily, "I do not agree that she is the wisest. There are few wise women in the world; you may call her the less foolish than others." Anyhow, eventually the white hound was given to the Princess Anne, who "loved hunting exceedingly," and so appreciated "the beauty and goodness of this dog that she crossed him with her own *fauve*- or fawn-coloured hounds," which are said to have been "small with white rings round their necks" and of the Brittany breed.

This story is told in Turbervile's *Book of Hunting* (1576), translated from the French of Jacques du Fouillaux's *Vénerie*, who says that the white dog's name was "Souillard," and that "before this white hound proved his value, white hounds were not much esteemed in France because they did not hunt all sorts of game, only deer"—which, of course, now would be considered a good

characteristic, but in those days the same pack of hounds was still used for hunting the red and fallow deer, roebuck, wild boar, wolf, etc., indiscriminately as required.

We do not know any more for certain of the "poor gentleman" who presented "Souillard." Had hunting much made him poor? Was he one of the gallant band who will always keep a horse and a hound rather than comforts for himself? Was he a great traveller who had bought the hound in Spain, Africa or Italy? Brittany has ever been noted since the days of Sir Tristram for its good breed of hounds, and it contained some of the best hunting country in the France of that day.

According to du Fouillaux's story, "the Grand Seneschal of Normandy" next obtained possession of "Souillard" and gave him into the charge of a certain *gros Veneur*, Jacques de Brézé, a member of the great hunting family of de Brézé or de Brézé (whose son would marry Diane de Poitiers at a later period), and who became Chief Veneur to the Princess Anne. De Brézé quickly appreciated the qualities of "Souillard," and bred from him with excellent results.

"Souillard" was much used in his day and is one of the most famous hounds in History. Some old writers, including Charles IX, state that "Souillard" was a white dog of the old St. Hubert breed, and de Brézé wrote :

"Souillard, le blanc et le beau chien courant,
De son temps le meilleur et le mieux pour chassant ;
Du bon chien Saint Hubert, qui Souillard avait non,
Fils et heritier, qui eut si grand renom !"

But du Fouillaux was of the opinion that all white hounds came originally from "Barbarie," an elastic term which included all Northern Africa, where, of course, for centuries there had been caravan trade as well as ship-borne with the East, so that "Barbarie" might suggest any origin outside Europe. Moreover, coastal trade between Brittany and Northern Africa by Spain was quite easy. The St. Huberts included both white and black hounds in the time of du Fouillaux ; the black St. Huberts were bred distinct from the white who became known as "the Royal White Greffier, descended from Souillard."

Du Fouillaux states that "Souillard's" progeny, by a bitch of the Princess Anne's called "Baude" (or "Baulde" as de Brézé wrote it), practically laid the foundation of the Royal White Hounds, there being six puppies of outstanding merit in the litters resulting—"Cheraut, Joubar, Miraud, Meigret, Marteau and Hoyse (the good bitch)." This breed came to be renowned as "beautiful line hunters, stronger than other hounds, good at casting themselves, with drive and pace, running 'de haut nez.'"

Heat did not affect them, they did not mind crowds, nor the noise and cry of those who follow after Royalty, and were less likely to hunt a change than any other pack of hounds ; they are cleverer, liking to have huntsmen accompanying them ; they slightly fear water, especially in the winter when it is cold." Du Fouillaux also says that the pure white puppies in a litter were invariably the best, those marked with red being equally good, while those with a touch of black or grey seemed to have rather fat, soft sort of feet ; and that all hounds of this breed were not at their best till they were three years old, and they were a little apt to run jealous or mute.

Such was the beginning of the famous White Hounds of France, a trace of which blood Lord Bathurst—one of the greatest authorities to-day on the breeding of hounds—believes to be found still in many of the leading packs of foxhounds, particularly where there are white hounds—such as at Berkeley, Badminton, The Four Burrow, Tiverton, Lady Curre's,—and in any blood descended possibly through the Duke of Richmond's old Charlton hounds, as will be seen later on.

The woman who had a good deal to do with the initial establishment of the Royal White Hounds was one of the most able daughters France ever had—Anne, daughter of Louis XI, son of that Charles VIII to whom Jeanne d'Arc had restored his country. This Princess Anne (1460–1522), interesting here on account of her connection with Hunting, is generally known in French history as the *Dame de Beaujeu*. She was the eldest daughter of the unattractive, enigmatical but exceptionally able Louis and his second wife, Charlotte of Savoy. Had Anne been a boy she would have succeeded her father, and she would have made a Queen after her father's heart ; like him she was said to be energetic, obstinate, cunning and unscrupulous, and she was credited by her detractors with her father's avarice and rapacity. This may or may not have been true. We know that she hunted as she lived—thoroughly, without heeding time, discomfort, fatigue or anything but the hunt on hand. It was said that she had as much knowledge as a professional huntsman, was "as relentless as a limier on the line, had as much guile as a great hart," was quick to notice "signs," and to make up her mind and her judgment was practically always right—certainly she deserves all the credit given to a successful huntsman. She was also said to blow a hunting horn uncommonly well.

Jacques de Brézé, her chief huntsman, wrote enthusiastically of :

" la maistresse
Du beau mestier de vennerye "

" Elle se met en la mêlée
 Tant que les chevaux galoper purent
 De parler aux chiens ne cessant
 ' Baulde, ma mie, la ira ! '
 De si près elle le pressait
 Que je crois qu'elle le mangera "

And at the *Abbaye* or baying of the hounds —

" Madame est à pied descendue
 Et puis le vient prendre à la teste ,
 A tous les chiens paile et forte hue¹
 Et à chacun a part fait feste "²

It is possible that as a woman Anne of France was unattractive in appearance—an unforgivable sin in France then as to-day—and I fancy that she was most certainly lacking in humour and took herself seriously, always tiresome in a woman. It is unlikely that any daughter of Louis XI could feel very gay, with a father who shut himself up alone in a moated castle while four hundred picked archers constantly waited at the ready for fear of treason.

The Princess Anne had married Pierre de Beaujeu, younger brother of the Duke of Bourbon. And to her, instead of to the half-forgotten Charlotte, fell the honour of the Regency, when Louis, turning his face to the wall, sent the Chancellor with his seals, his hounds, and his hawks to the young boy who was to succeed him. " Let the land rest, for it is lean and poor," he had said, " and avoid quarrels, especially with England and Brittany."

Anne of France never did things by halves. A strong woman in mind and body she did not fear to take her own line, to make an eventful decision or to shoulder responsibility. It is a peculiar anomaly that on account of the *Sahc* Law no daughter of France could ever succeed to the throne, while there was no obstacle against Dowager Queens being Regents for their sons. Thus Anne, being made Regent by her father for her young step-brother, Charles VIII, created an almost unprecedented spectacle in France, and would have been an impossible position for any less stout-hearted woman to maintain in the face of the intrigues inseparable to a long minority.

" Why," asked indignant courtiers, " should Louis, a tyrant in

¹ *Hue* is interesting as a French word describing the cheering on hounds, whence we get our English " hue and cry "

² Jacques de Brézé wrote delightfully of his own hounds

" Dieu sait en quelle joye mon cœur
 Sera de les ouyr chasser !
 Je ne croy pas qu'il soit chaleur
 Ne travail qui me sceust matter ,
 L'on y perd toute melancolie
 A mal fere ne peuvent haüter
 Gens qui usent de tel mestier "

(*Livre de la chasse du grand sénéchal de Normandie*, J de Brézé)

life, be permitted to continue his tyranny after death and impose this monstrous rule in France? " But Anne was a " *Maîtresse femme* " indeed ; she ruled as relentlessly and methodically as she bred her hounds or hunted the wild boar and wolf. She saw statecraft as her father had taught her—one more good hunt, one more quarry outwitted, one more mask for the tally. From 1483 to 1489 she was Regent, and the people spoke with respect of " *La Grande Madame, splendide et magnifique*," who quelled insurrections, defended frontiers and effected badly needed economies. All that time, with the quiet efficient co-operation of her husband, she carried out her father's instructions. Brittany remained the coveted jewel missing from the diadem of France. Brittany obstinately, as always in her history, still preferred anything to co-operation with French policies ; and in the effort to remain neutral trafficked with enemies of France—like England, and Austria. The latter intrigue the late King had been driven to counter by arranging a marriage between the Emperor's little daughter Margaret and the infant Dauphin. Anne planned to crown her work with the acquisition of Brittany ; to this end she schemed, laid snares and pitfalls, and finally in 1490 conducted a hunt right into the coveted territory then held in the slender hands of a fourteen-year-old Duchess, Anne. The only obstacles to this poaching affair being that the young King, her step-brother, was already bound, in theory if not in fact, to little Margaret of Austria, already referred to as Queen of France, and living at the French Court, while the Duchess Anne was likewise affianced elsewhere. In those days such obstacles were almost insurmountable ; but quietly and calmly Anne de Beaujeu accomplished her purpose—perhaps the greatest hunt in French history and certainly the finest gift to her country from any Frenchwoman, Brittany passed by marriage to the King of France. Her duty done, " *Grande Madame*," now *Duchesse de Bourbon* owing to the death of her brother-in-law, handed the reins of government to Charles VIII, and retired to her vast estates and the care of her only child, Susanne, who would one day marry the Great Constable de Bourbon—one of the most romantic figures in all French history—that is almost to say in the world, and whose " treason " involved the downfall of the flower of the French nobility. (But the phoenix would rise in the person of one of the most popular kings France ever had, *Henri de Navarre*, famous *veneur* of his day and founder of the Bourbon dynasty.)

Anne of France, in her day, was renowned as a hunter of the wolf and the wild boar, the most dangerous sports in Mediæval Europe, and never suitable pastimes for women. But of all who took on men's jobs no one did them more ably, judged by her own standards, as she very ironically called *Madame de Beaujeu*.

One has only to read *Wolf Hunting and Wild Sport in Brittany* (1875) to comprehend the popular attitude towards these two destructive wild beasts and people who were able to rid the countryside of these pests, to gain an understanding of the efficiency of "Grande Madame." Synonymous for all that is cruel and cunning, wolves in France were a scourge to the poor peasant of the Age, classed with famine, war and pestilence. Hunting in packs during the winter months, wolves would descend on small farms and carry off or kill goats, sheep, cattle or horses. Hardly any fence or wall would keep them out; children and old people were not safe, and the howls of a pack of starving wolves outside the wretched hovels of the struggling peasantry of France, in the fifteenth century, froze the marrow in the bones of the wretched inhabitants huddled within. Likewise wild boar, as always, were only too apt to descend on the open fields of the peasant proprietor, doing disastrous damage to vineyards and growing crops of all kinds.

No wonder then that anyone who was strong enough and brave enough to deal successfully with these two menaces to country life gained the respect and support of the people, even if the said one's private quarrels and political feuds involved a certain amount of War. Contemporary French historians are rather silent as to the means by which Anne de Beaujeu managed to hold such dominance; it is possible that her authority rested more on the support of the people than of the nobility—she gave the land rest and kept it clearer of all beasts of prey than it had been for many a day.

Wolf-hunting was especially difficult. Most horses are terrified of their mortal enemy, the wolf—possibly one reason why some hunters of our day show such unaccountable satisfaction at the death of a fox. Good wolf-hounds were difficult to breed, the old French wolf-hounds being "big, powerful, wire-haired, deep tongued, carrying a grand head and plenty of bone, with no 'towling' propensity in tail hounds." As a rule the young wolves were those mostly hunted as a public duty by the *Louveterie* in fifteenth-century France, at a time when the chase of the red deer was being looked on more and more as the sport giving most pleasure, so tending to become the privilege of a few, reserved at his wish entirely to the King. Careful organisation, the netting of vast areas, relentless War—were the only methods of dealing with the menace of wolves.

The limier was still required to mark the line and show by his behaviour whether scent was fresh or stale; still the *picquer* with keen eyes to detect subtle differences of the game afoot, still *relais* of hounds were required. Above all, there was still the *chasse-couteau*; the wielder of the short hunting-sword must be

brave, quick-thinking, skilled in its use, knowing the vital parts of the cornered animal, appreciating the danger of the point coming in contact with bone, and strong-minded with the firmness of hand, eye and nerve necessary to deal the death-wound. This was the type of daughter bred by "that old wolf of France," Louis XI. To her, more than to any individual, belongs the honour of first bringing to Hunting the patience, organisation, ability, training and staff work necessary to the business of War

II MARGARET OF AUSTRIA

If the little girl, already referred to and unwanted as the bride of the King of France, had to drop out of French history for reasons of State policy, Margaret of Austria was destined to play star roles, if tragic ones for the most part, in the making of Renaissance Europe. Her motto. "*Fortune, Infortune, fortune*" translates as "Fortune and misfortune and one strong to meet them." We have her picture by Van Orlay, and we can contemplate her magnificent tomb at Brou where she lies sleeping in rich robes, a hound at her feet, and there are also many of her letters to her father and nephew, in which even if the spelling leaves much to the imagination her intentions are very clear and much of her charm peeps out. A good deal can be gleaned from a person's taste in books—we have Margaret of Austria's own catalogue of books and art treasures. From it we can see that she appreciated the brilliant and able men of her day (often difficult for one who is their contemporary), and showed rare judgment and taste. Her favourite books included the Classics and Old Romances—such as *The Round Table*, *Merlin*, *Golden Legend* and *Jason and the Golden Fleece*; a great deal of Froissart, four books on Chess, Bibles and devotional works, and Gaston Phoebus on *Hunting*.

Margaret of Austria was descended through her father and mother from John of Gaunt's daughter Blanche; she showed the strong qualities of the Plantagenets, the fearless courage of her grandfather, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the sweetness and piety of both her charming mother Mary, Duchess of Burgundy in her own right, and of her grandmother, Isabel de Bourbon. Her father, Maximilian I, Duke of Austria, and afterwards Emperor, was one of the most attractive men of the period: virile and active, a dreamer of dreams, full of bright ideas, a patron of art and letters—yet the sort of man who, when his pikemen hesitated and looked like yielding before the enemy, jumped from his horse and rushed into the ranks shouting to all to follow him, and who in the middle of an arduous campaign wrote home minute instructions about the whelps of some favourite hound¹

¹ The Emperor owned fifteen hundred hounds of all sorts (Baillie-Grohman)

Maximilian's obsession was the aggrandisement of his family—his aim being to make the Hapsburgs dominant in Europe—a sort of family League of Nations. To this end he had engaged his eldest daughter to the young Dauphin with the connivance of Louis XI whose own ideas at the time leaned in the same direction ; but as we already know, this marriage did not take place, Anne de Beaujeu thinking that Maximilian's land-snatching had gone far enough for French policy.

Margaret's charming young mother, Mary of Burgundy,¹ the greatest heiress of her day, Mary of the Joyous Spirit as she was called, died from a fall out hunting ; she was flying falcons with Maximilian in the meadow-lands below Bruges, and jumping a dyke her horse fell, rolling on her so that she died three weeks later. Mary of Burgundy loved hunting ; the old chroniclers state that her favourite "wind-hound that is very swift usually slept in her chamber." Her children, Margaret and Philip, were only aged four and two when she died ; but Margaret always treasured the memory of her mother and we can guess that loyal friends kept alive for always in the two little orphans' hearts the remembrance of their gay and charming mother at the height of her short but brilliant life (1457-1482).²

Mary of the Joyous Spirit had brown eyes tinged with grey, beautiful and clear ; was tall and slender, had a snow-white skin, a little head and face, a small nose and mouth—with the short upper lip characteristic of so many women of charm and attraction from Cleopatra onwards—with well-defined and red lips. As she lay dying she said : "Adieu Philippe mon jeune fils et Marguerite ma fille, vous perdez votre mère avant le temps, mais je dois subir mon sort" (endure my fate). Maximilian loved her very dearly and when his time came years later, in 1519, he charged that his heart be buried with her in the City of Bruges. In this last illness he had himself carried to his favourite hunting-lodge of Wels in Upper Silesia, whence he could see the high tops where he had loved to hunt chamois. Maximilian adopted "Control Thyself" as his motto ; he had courage and unflagging energy and kept himself hard and fit. He was a magnificent shot with the cross-bow and most skilful with the long hunting spear. Interested in the use of guns for warfare he did not think it sporting to use them for game. His "records" with the cross-bow are almost unbelievable, but though so keen he was always a fine sportsman and cared for the welfare of the animals he hunted so ruthlessly. For instance, there is a story told that though short

¹ Mary of Burgundy was said to have been the first to put her leg round the pommel of a man's saddle and so to have originated the first side-saddle (*La Chasse à travers les Ages*.) And see p. 192.

² Another Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary and granddaughter of Anne of Austria, was killed in the hunting field.

of money at the time he sent presents of silk dresses to the women in a certain mountain village who had prevented their husbands from destroying a rare ibex he was anxious to preserve.

Not only was he an outdoor man, but the Emperor had no small share in the national revival of learning and scholarship ; he was the patron of the celebrated artists Albrecht Dürer, Holbein, Burghmaier the engraver, and Peter Vischer the sculptor. We can still see the Prayer Book illustrated for Maximilian I by Dürer with animals connected with the Chase in Fable and Legend.

Such were the parents of the little Princess ignominiously returned to her father, who perhaps was too pleased to see her again or too poor to raise the necessary troops to avenge the insult. But her eight years spent at the Court of France were not wasted. Among other well-considered activities Anne de Beaujeu was interested in the education of women. During her own early life "all serious consideration was reserved for the men of the period ; a woman was but a counter in the game of politics, ever subservient to the will of father, brother, husband or son." Anne de Beaujeu established her *école de mœurs* for little maidens of high birth ; clever girls were helped and educated. In later years she wrote a book of *Enseignements* in which the Grande Madame explained her methods and ideas on education, saying that her aim was to develop character, to encourage vigour of body and mind ; and only professed to influence the minds under her care "as good wine colours its cask." To her daughter she wrote : "Always maintain an honourable bearing, your manner cold and assured, a lowly glance, subdued words, constant and firm, ever of one mind without changing." Among her most noted pupils, Anne de Beaujeu directed the education of Louise de Savoy, the future Queen and Regent of France, Diane de Poitiers—who was to hold a position of power almost equal to that of Prime Minister of France for forty years, and Margaret of Austria.

Margaret was reported to be especially good at music, painting and "rhetoric," and owned dogs and ponies, her special pet being a certain green parrot which had been given to her mother and for whose sake she valued the clever bird, looking after "L'Amant Vert" herself. Margaret did her fine needlework and exquisite embroidery with the other Court ladies while an improving book was read aloud. Under the Regent the French Court must have been a charming picture, full of the colour and delight of the Renaissance, while there were also gay mornings when knights in bright attire and ladies wearing habits of scarlet and green rode a-hunting in the forests, or with greyhounds and falcons along the river banks. It is said that Margaret of Austria rode a "white hack" on such hunting days.

It was unlikely that the young ladies joined in the strenuous wolf and boar hunting of La Grande Madame, but in after years Margaret of Austria could be proud also of the wolf masks on her castle walls, and would be acknowledged likewise "Grande Chasseresse," the highest title of any woman who rode to hounds in those days. The statement of the old writers that she selected only ladies-in-waiting who could step into their saddles unaided is surely evidence of her own horsemanship?

Margaret left France at the age of thirteen and on her return home to Burgundy for a time came under the influence of another interesting and masterful woman, her step-grandmother Margaret of England, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of our Yorkist King Edward IV. Then arrangements were made for the marriage of Margaret's brother Philip, already known as "the Handsome," to Juana, second daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile—the united sovereigns of the Spanish kingdom. This was followed a few months later by the marriage of Margaret herself, now seventeen, to the Infante Don Juan, the eldest son and hope of Spain—the most gracious and charming prince in Europe. The Emperor being now at war with France, the Princess Margaret went by sea to Spain, being delayed on the way by bad weather which forced her convoy to put into Southampton Water, where she received a courteous letter from the first Tudor, Henry VII, despite certain feelings between them, the result of Margaret's Yorkist connection.

Alas, for all the fair hopes of Spain. Within a year the charming nineteen-year-old bridegroom had died of some illness—possibly malaria—the grievous loss to Margaret being further accentuated by the death of her baby daughter. Had these two lived, surely the course of History must have proved happier for many people in both the Old and New Worlds?

Margaret was the type of character who face the worst tragedies as Heaven ordained "for the best," and did not permit herself to be crushed by fate. After an interval spent at the Court of the patroness of Columbus as a beloved daughter of Spain—an experience which must have had its effect on such an intelligent and adaptable personality—she returned to the Netherlands, as always obedient to the behests of her father. It was unlikely that one of the most eligible princesses in Europe would long be allowed to remain a widow; in 1501 she was married to Philibert le Beau, Duke of Savoy. Maximilian had selected this young man because the neutrality of Savoy was essential to the Emperor's latest schemes in Italy; but Duke Philibert, aged nineteen, was another perfect prince charming, and in addition a gallant soldier, a wise ruler, an able, intelligent, far-seeing man who worked for the good of his country and his people. Curiously

modern in a world still in the last stages of feudalism he aimed at the establishment of schools and hospitals far in advance of the thought of his day. In these schemes he was ably seconded by his wife, and the pair lived and worked in idyllic surroundings at the ancestral castle of Pont d'Ain, amid the finest scenery in Savoy and perfect hunting country for wild boar and stag—tastes which the young couple shared in common. Alas, again destiny intervened. After three perfect years Margaret was left a widow for the second time. Duke Philibert died from drinking bad water or caught a chill after a hard day's hunting. He had ridden a long time after a wild boar, outlasting everybody else, till his horse could go no further, and he went on on foot after the hounds, till he too was exhausted and stopped at a fountain and then fell asleep on the grass. (*Marguerite of Austria*, C. Hare.)

The stricken Margaret endeavoured to ease her heartache by planning the most beautiful shrine the world had ever seen to the memory of her husband, but she had barely begun this work—which was to take twenty-five years and to cost the Archduchess most of her income—when the call came again and she had to return at her father's behest to take up the reins for him as Regent of the Netherlands. This is the state in which we mostly come upon her in history.

Her brother Philip had, of course, succeeded to all their mother's rich Burgundian possessions; and then, on the death of his wife's elder sister after Margaret's first husband, found himself heir to Aragon and Castile. This was even more than Maximilian had ever expected; but again Death intervened on earthly glory, and Philip the Handsome died suddenly in 1507 from, it was said, drinking cold water after getting overheated playing his favourite game of tennis. Poor Margaret, but perhaps she was glad to sink private sorrow in definite work; it was her duty now to act as Regent for her seven-year-old nephew, Charles, "by the Grace of God Arch-duke of Austria, Prince of the Spains, Count of Flanders, of Artois, of Burgundy, Palatine of Hainault, of Holland, of Zealand, of Namur, and of Zutphen, Marquis of the Empire, Lord of Friseland, of Salins, and of Malines." On her shoulders fell the care of this vast inheritance. There were few friends of the House of Hapsburg left in Europe—Henry VII in England, Louis XI of France, Pope Julius II, and even Ferdinand of Aragon, thought that Maximilian's family owned too much; while at home the fiery Duke of Guelders made government difficult. But Margaret never faltered, carrying out her duties in the way she believed to be right, i.e. as laid down by her father. She did refuse the honour of marrying Henry VII of England in his old age—the only time she could not agree with her father, and he did not press her again.

For eight years she ruled on behalf of the future Emperor Charles V; and for the rest of her life—she died at the age of fifty from a poisoned cut on her foot—she was her father's confidante, her nephew's Vice-Regent whenever he was absent in Spain, a mother to his children, a patron to Erasmus and other men of letters, a friend of artists, a benefactor of the Church and one held in great esteem by all men.

Those interested in history and hunting owe special gratitude to this Arch-duchess Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Savoy and Regent of the Netherlands. First, because of the fascinating letters which passed between herself and her father the Emperor, most of his being carefully preserved by her so that much is known of his sporting trips, his hunting, his falconry, his cross-bows, fire-arms, and his interest in new inventions. His enthusiasm for sport and a good hunting country would fill a volume of this size; they evince throughout a spirit that never ages, a character that tries its best to live rather than exist, and one to whom doing, and doing anything well, was the very breath of life. The Emperor Maximilian I marks the change from the mediæval to the modern, 1459-1519. History dubbed him the "last knight"; it would be equally true to call him "the first of the moderns," with his restlessness, versatility and, can we say, self-advertisement? He found time to write several books on sport, of which *Weis Kunig* and *Tuerdank*, which contain several of the Emperor's own adventures, are the best known. His *Hunting Book*, *Fishing Book*, and *Secrets of the Chase* are of special interest, the illustrations showing the variety of sport, from catching cray-fish to hunting the ibex, enjoyed by the Emperor in Upper Silesia, fast becoming one of the play-grounds of modern Europe to-day.

Maximilian was not one of those who collected a huge mass of game in enclosures by means of hundreds of beaters—a form of "German sport" which was to bring disrepute on the Empire later on in the seventeenth century. Maximilian I was of the school of Gaston Phœbus, taking delight in tackling a bear or a wild boar single-handed. Shooting deer and chamois with a cross-bow and riding vast distances for the purpose were also no mean feats. Mr. Baillie-Grohman says that in one year the Emperor shot 32 stags, 41 chamois, and 300 wild duck: "His good marksmanship is betokened by his killing 100 wild duck with 104 shots, and that he bagged with one and the same cross-bow bolt 26 hares without missing." (*Sport in Art*.)

We can still see some of the cross-bows belonging to the Emperor Maximilian in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, they are beautifully made and he was most particular about keeping them in

good condition. The type of cross-bow he used was a development of the early wooden cross-bow, strengthened with horn and metal, engraved, finely chased and inlaid with silver, ivory and pearl, and perfected by the skill of craftsmen in Italy, Spain and Germany.

In skilful hands the light sporting cross-bow used on the Continent for "hunting" (1470-1630) was a very efficient weapon, being noiseless and very accurate up to seventy-five yards. Its extreme range for warfare was said to be about one hundred and seventy-five yards. The hunter could not bring down birds on the wing with his cross-bow—it was too slow in the aiming—but Sir R. Payne-Gallwey, in *The Cross-Bow*, says that it was possible to lodge a bolt in the heart or head of a deer, bear or wolf standing or slowly moving and to kill a bird such as a heron perched conveniently on the top of a tree. Another advantage of the cross-bow was that it could be carried at "the ready." It should be remembered that at the time of Maximilian I most wild animals were tame and easily stalked, probably fifty to a hundred yards being the range for shooting deer with the sporting cross-bow, wild-fowl and game birds for the table were still mostly taken in nets and snares or with trained hawks. Early in the sixteenth century the double-stringed cross-bow was invented which flung a stone instead of a bolt; it became "very popular with sportsmen, ladies, foresters and keepers as a means of obtaining game birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits."



Spanish cross-bowman of the type that won the battle of Pavia (carrying the lever for tightening the bow-string).

"O for a stone-bow! to hit him in the eye,"

says Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*. It was called in France an "*arbolate à jalet*" and was undoubtedly used by Maximilian in his chamois-shooting expeditions. It threw a small stone from the central loop of its double string and was a very accurate little weapon.

There was, of course, much more wild game in Austria in those days. Where now there is one chamois probably there must have been four or five hundred in Maximilian's time (Sir R. Payne-

Gallwey), and the heads of the red deer were much bigger (Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art*).

Curiously enough, Maximilian refers to hunting the stag *par force*, i.e. in the open with hounds, as "the new kind of French hunting." Hunting meant then as it does to-day in France, the chase after bird or beast whether with hounds, cross-bow, gun or spear.

The second important contribution to the study of hunting which we owe to Margaret of Austria is the set of "*Belles Chasses*" tapestries, now among the greatest Art treasures of Europe. It is becoming a most striking fact that the great patrons of the Renaissance artists are the same people who are most fond of hunting. Tapestries were hung on the cold, bare walls of castles and accompanied their owners to wars and battle tents, decorated the streets for fêtes and celebrations; they could be taken down and transported from place to place so much easier than pictures, statues or china. The *Belles Chasses* consist of a series of twelve large arras panels, portraying hunting scenes—such as *The Hunt Breakfast*, *The Curée*, *Chase of the Wild Boar*, *Death of the Stag*, etc. They were designed by the famous artist, Bernard van Orlay, pupil and friend of Raphael. A previous series of tapestries, *The Acts of the Apostles*, the drawings for which had been done by Raphael, caused great stir and admiration when they were completed in 1519, and it is believed that the Archduchess Margaret so admired them that she commissioned a like set commemorating her father and mother. As a weaver could only do about one square yard in a year the *Belles Chasses* panels were not finished for some years, probably being completed under the direction of Margaret's niece and namesake who succeeded her. An example of the cartoon or pattern drawing and the finished piece of embroidery is shown on plate XIII, and the episode sketched by Mr. L. Edwards opposite is from another of the panels, and shows Wild Boar hunting, the most dangerous sport of all—killing a wild boar single-handed with a sword.

For a long time the *Belles Chasses* panels remained in the possession of the famous family of Guise; to-day they can be seen, together with Van Orlay's own cartoons (or pattern drawings), at the Louvre. Though supposed to represent hunting scenes in the life of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, they actually exhibit details of sport at a later date. Artists of the period were unable to "cast back" to an earlier time than their own—and took no pains to make their subjects appear historically accurate, which accounts for to us the curious anachronisms of Venus in the garb of a sixteenth-century princess, the Madonna in the guise of a well-known Court beauty, St. Sebastian being

Wild boar hunting (after the Belles Chasses tapestries).



slain by arrows from a cross-bow invented some three hundred years after his death or St. Hubert as a thirteenth century knight (see plate IX)—an attribute which makes for much of the charm in mediæval pictures.

Van Orlay was really a landscape artist ; some of his designs for hounds and horses are very wooden, though improved on by the weavers ; so we can only conclude from the perfection of all the details that the watchful eye of the Arch-duchess herself was constantly present. The panel showing a boar-hunt is perhaps the most interesting, in view of what we know of this difficult sport. We can see the great mastiff hounds, with their thick leather collars and guards to protect them from savage thrusts, and the mounted hunter—Maximilian himself—pinning the boar with his sword ; what Gaston Phœbus said was a “ fairer feat than any other if the boar be not held by hounds.” There were few better judges of such a sport than the Regent of the Netherlands, who in her day could “undo” a boar or “brittle” a stag single-handed.

III. DIANE DE POITIERS

Diane de Poitiers, the third woman we take to represent this interesting period, was one of the foremost women of her day. Her name has resounded down the Ages in France as the originator of much Beauty, Art and Romance—without which the world is poorer indeed. Few people have been so talked about—for and against. Little of her true story is ever likely to be known ; her very *métier* was bound up in privacy—the only kind known to Royalty in those days. Calumnies on personal character were merely political travesties ; it is hard to get at the truth. We can but judge people by their actions and in accord with the standards of their times, if we know them. Judged by these alone, Diane evolves most successfully and as one of the greatest Frenchwomen of all time.

To us she is most interesting as the acknowledged greatest expert on hunting at the Court of Henri II—which is to say in all Europe of the day. It is possible that she owed much of her ascendancy over Henri II to that fact ; like a clever woman—particularly a Frenchwoman—she had made the most of her natural gifts and collected all the incidental advantages that came her way.

Her life story is too long to tell here, but her name occurs constantly in history. Do not believe all the calumnies against her ; they issued largely from political opponents. Diane de Poitiers stood firmly all her life for the *ancien régime*—the best traditions of feudalism. Remember that a woman cannot keep

the love and respect of a man—especially of a Frenchman and the King of France, and, more marvellously still, much younger than herself—by the wiles of the flesh and the devil alone. There was something special she gave—sympathy, personality, vitality, energy, a touch of the Moon Goddess—that places Diane de Poitiers among the greatest charmers of the world—Helen of Troy, Cleopatra, Isabella d'Este, Cæsar Borgia's sister, Mary Stuart and the Winter Queen.

Diane was one of those well-born little girls trained in the school of Anne de Beaujeu ; and no doubt this young girl—high-spirited, beautiful, who had ridden a pony from the age of six, proud of her family, ambitious, strong in body and mind, endowed with health and possessing a keen judgment—absorbed the teaching of her patroness.

Life moved swiftly in those days. At the age of thirteen most girls were married, or on their way to being married, for "the good of the family." Diane was contracted in marriage in 1514 to Louis de Brézé,¹ Grand Seneschal of Normandy, forty years older than herself, but the most renowned *veneur* in France of the day—a time when Hunting was an Art and Science, the highest honours in which were only attainable by skill, courage, patience, strength and knowledge superior to all men.

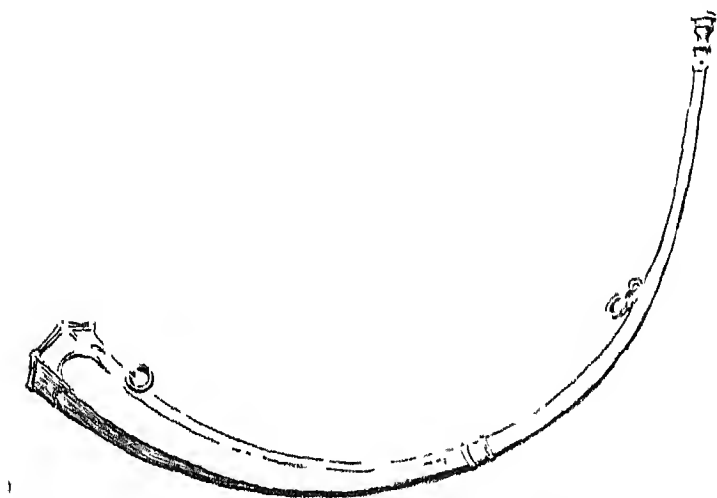
In spite of the disproportion in their ages, Diane shared her husband's tastes. Always referred to as an excellent rider and all her life enjoying the feel of a stretching gallop on a good horse, she now proceeded to learn all the finest points of Hunting from the greatest *veneur* in the Kingdom, and with all the judgment and appreciation of her intuitive, cultivated, able mind she proved an apt pupil. Possibly it pleased de Brézé to teach her all he knew. Jehanne d'Orliac in *Moon Mistress* pictures their "x-hilarating sport, early morning starts . . . gay animation in the courtyard of the château . . . hounds in couples, grooris, falconers, huntsmen in green and red and grey . . . ladies on *hacknées*, caparisoned in velvet, plumed hats, boots of red damascened leather, skirts looped up above the knee, the sound of hunting horns . . . all ravished Diane's burning youth."

This life went on for some time, till there came to the throne of France, in succession to Charles VIII, *François d'Angoulême*, son of Louise of Savoy—the brilliant young Francis I, with his flair for beauty in all forms. He announced that "a noble, however high and mighty he may be, could not receive a seigneur, however great he may be, in his house or his château, better than

¹ The de Brésé, or de Brézé, family had always been noted for their excellence in *Venerie*—Jehan, grandfather of Louis, being quoted in the *Tresor de Venerie*, written in the fourteenth century, as a "cunning hunter", his great-grandfather had married a niece of the great Du Guesclin, Constable of France. His father was Grand Veneur to Anne of France and the keeper of "Souillard"

by bringing with him at the first meeting a beautiful woman, a fine horse, and a handsome hound." Thus it was certain that Louis de Brézé, who had faithfully served four kings, would get a great welcome from this one.

The expense of the hunting "*équipages*" of Francis I was said to amount to the enormous sum of 150,000 crowns—at a time when the State coffers were empty. The "*équipage de toiles*" (nets) "commanded" by the famous *veneur*, the Admiral d'Annebault alone consisted of a *Lieutenant*, 12 *veneurs* (mounted), 6 *valets-de-limiers* (harboures), 6 *valets-de-chiens* (hunt-servants), 60 hounds, 100 archers, woodcutters and porters, etc., for the tents, who followed the Court everywhere. Though the King



"*Trompe de Chasse.*" A gilt-copper horn made for Francis I in 1547, of beautiful workmanship, probably Venetian (Musée du Louvre).

did not much care for Falconry, he maintained more for show than anything 300 *oiseaux de haut vol*.

Brought up to hunt as a boy of ten, when his uncle, Louis XII, had caused wild boar and great harts to be caught in nets and turned loose in a park for the young Angoulême to learn the art of Venerie, Francis I, impulsive, romantic, brave, artistic and extravagant, the true blossoming of the Renaissance in France, adored hunting all his life, and particularly hunting the stag. "Old and ill I will have myself carried out hunting, and perhaps dead I will have myself carried hunting in my coffin," said Francis I when people suggested he was overdoing hunting! The Ambassador of Venice, who had to follow him round all the forests in France in order to get an answer to his dispatches, endeavoured

to remonstrate with the King about hunting at Fontainebleau when he had a chill: "Foi de gentilhomme" (the King's favourite expression), "c'est la chasse qui m'a guéri," was the reply.

And this is a description from an account-book kept by a certain Alexis Monteil of the Court of Francis I hunting:

"Those are the stables, the kennel, the falconry, the heronry; these buildings do not appear to you only large—they are enormous. Even so I never understood how they can hold so many horses, hunt servants and hounds—which in Royal hunting seem to cover the ground! Sometimes the King, surrounded by his hundred pages, his two hundred esquires, picquers and grooms, takes with him a cavalcade of four or five hundred gentlemen; sometimes he is accompanied by the Queen or several Queens, followed by their numerous ladies-in-waiting. Then all the occupants of the top-rooms, the drawing-rooms, and all the rooms of the castle—the whole Court, appear also on horseback, all in red coats, and can be seen in the countryside trotting and galloping in the suite of the King, himself also in a red coat, all engaged in hunting the hart or the wild-boar." (*Histoire des Français des divers États*.)

Bude, addressing Francis I, could say without being accused of flattery: "Sire, you have so much dressed and polished the practice of Hunting, that it seems to have reached perfection."

No day's hunting was too hard or long for Francis I. Louis de Brézé thus describes a day's hunting at Blois in a letter to M. de Montmorency in 1518:

"Last Tuesday the King went from here to hunt the great hart of Bryon—the same one that was lost when the English visitors were hunting here the day we slept at Monffrault. After two days searching the King himself harboured and moved the stag, and holloed the hounds on to the line in exactly the same place he was found before. The stag took us to Brumalles, where he tried so many tricks to make us change that when he went on we were left far behind and had to blow 'the forlorn' and before we could unravel his tracks, night had overtaken us. However, we did recover the line eventually, and when we saw that he was undoubtedly making back on his tracks, we followed him just to the brook at the place he had crossed it near Bryon. After deliberation the King decided to wait to be avenged until the following morning. For that purpose he himself tracked the stag on foot so well that we were able to put the hounds on to the line and to follow where he had gone on to the open country the other end of this forest. But the stag did not run for more than half an hour from the time we had recovered the scent; it was certainly the greatest sport that it is possible to see, and I assure you that the King went away as pleased as he has ever been about any hunt. The stag carried only 14 points (!) but he had one of the most beautiful heads that you ever saw taken in France." (*Les Chasses de François I.* COUNT DE LA FERRIERE, 1867.)

Or in the old French of de Brézé it is still more interesting :

"Mardi dernier le roi partit d'ici pour aller courre le grand cerf de Bryon qui fut failly quant les Anglais y etaient, que nous couchames à Monffault ; il a couru deux jours et le detourna le roi et bailla lui même aux chiens au buisson propre, là où il fut baillé à l'autrefois ; de là où il nous mena aux Brumalles, là où il nous donna tant d'affaires de donner le change et dehors qu'il se forligna (laisser loin derrière) de nous en sorte que avant que nous eussions deffait ses synesses, la nuit nous print ; toutfois nous vimes comment il retournoit sur lui et le suivisme jusques à la rivière que il passait l'eau en Bryon. Le roi délibéra de s'en venger le lendemain et pour le faire descendit lui même a pyé et depuis la revue le suivisme tant que nous l'allasmes rebailer aux chiens, aux tailles qui sont à l'autre bout de cette forêt, où de puis que nous l'eumes baillé ne courust poutant plus de demi heure ; mais ce fut au plus grand plaisir qu'il est possible de voir et vous assure que le dict seigneur s'en alla aussi content qu'il fust jamais de chasse ; il ne portait que quatoize, mais c'était l'une des plus belles tetes que vous vistés oncques prendre en France."

The Court of France at this period wandered over the country from place to place, restless, eager, entering towns and receiving addresses. The Venetian Ambassador complains that "the Court are only in one place so long as the game lasts," and that "anyone who wants to talk to the King must get him a horse and hie to the green woods." Consequently horses all over France demanded a stiff price. The nobles and their wives, encouraged by Court smiles and places, joined the throng around the young King, scintillating in velvets, satin and cloth of gold. (Thus began the exit of the nobles from the land, a disastrous movement which was to culminate in the tragedy of Versailles.) The wife of the Grand Seneschal received a place near the Queen as her husband had near the King. Consequently she witnessed the Field of the Cloth of Gold—that romantic meeting between Francis and Henry VIII at which the last Knights of Chivalry broke their lances in a glorious haze of mediæval pageantry, while the Emperor Charles V, on the threshold of a new regime, was training his Spanish cross-bowmen to march and to shoot with unbelievable precision in the furtherance of Hapsburg policy. Then came the rebellion of the Great Constable of Bourbon—the effort to return to an older noble order followed by war with the Emperor Charles V, resulting in the defeat and capture of Francis I at the battle of Pavia (1524). Then came the death of the Great Constable in the hour of his victory—the last great feudal lord who was strong enough to beat the King. But it is very hard for any mortal to put back the hands of the clock—a new era was sealed by the Peace of Cambrai.

Very soon now Diane, a fine rider, would sweep far on the long

career at which historians still raise their eyebrows. About now a boy of twelve, Henri, the King's second son, wears her colours of black and white at his first essay at arms, for still the traditional tournament held pride of place and it was essential for any gentleman to ride in practice of arms against another. This was in 1530, and what surprises everyone, then as now, at another tournament in 1559 the same challenger adorned with the same shoulder knots was carried senseless from the lists, to die from a lance splinter in his eye. But then twenty-nine years stood between, and during that time Diane made full use of her opportunities. Her husband died in 1531 at the age of seventy-two ; she continued at Court, and there at a time when to be aged thirty was considered elderly, Diane de Poitiers was marvelled at and became the centre of spiteful gossip, alleging that magic must account for the infatuation of the young Henri d'Orléans. Jehanne d'Orliac points out that any such insinuation was false to the facts—the truth being probably just the opposite, that in a self-indulgent age Diane subjected herself to "rigorous discipline . . . rising at three in the morning, she went for a three hours' ride, then had a bath and went back to bed, meditated in solitude and relaxation, ate sparingly and gave the rest of her day to society." So she kept her figure, her extremely white skin and teeth, her equitable temper and her beau. She was intelligent, the friend of poets, musicians and artists ; she danced beautifully, she rode beautifully and she was the most knowledgeable person about hunting in the Kingdom.

When for reasons of policy—the denuded state of his father's finances—Henri had to marry the fourteen-year-old Catherine de Medici¹ of the rich but new family, Diane, with the best blood of France in her veins, did not lose her influence. She remained one of the most prominent among the *petite bande* of hunting ladies who adorned the Court of the restless, satiated Francis I—doomed to wander about France seeking fresh sport and something new. Meanwhile, the Reformation was launched in 1520 by Luther—a social one as much as religious ; and in 1534 Jacques Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence.

The old pictures show that formerly most ladies rode hunting astride in men's saddles, but the ladies of the Court of Francis I went hunting, sitting sideways on a saddle, their feet on a foot-board—surely an insecure seat. Catherine de Medici is said to

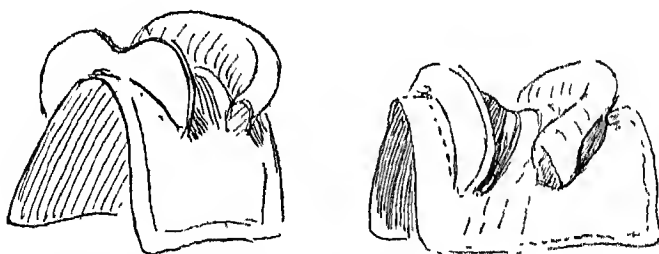
¹ Her uncle, the Medici Pope Leon X, of whose love of hawking a contemporary scribbler wrote .

" Un illustre héritier des nobles Médicis,
Le héros de son temps, le pape Léon dix,
Chaque automne autrefois oubhait en Ferrare,
Avec quelques oiseaux le poids de la tiare."

have been the first to use some sort of pummels. From Brantome's description it is fairly evident, I think, that she utilised



the customary *archon* or arch of the hunting-saddle of the day—which was a well-padded roll turned round and away from the rider—converting it into pummels by putting her right leg into



Late mediæval saddles showing the arch which became the pummels.

some sort of V-shaped opening cut in the roll. That old gossip wrote :

“ The Dauphiness was very good indeed on horseback and strong, and held herself very gracefully, having been the first who had put her leg in the arch of the saddle, so that it looked much more graceful and pleasing than the footboard. The desire to show her leg was one reason for the invention, because she had very nice ones, her calves being well formed, and she took pleasure in well booting herself, and of seeing her *chausse* (i.e. stockings and breeches all in one—were these jodhpurs ?), well put on, and not wrinkled. With this she wore a manteau of black velvet, a big apron of the same material covering

the front of the saddle, and descending below the housings (or trappings of the saddle), which were short and decorated with big hanging balls of silk, her left leg being tucked up under the said apron gripping the saddle."

This was definitely a side-saddle seat but it did not prevent her having many falls; once she wrote: "You ask news of my fall, it was a heavy one, but, thank God, no bones broken." Some years later she cracked her skull. Undoubtedly Catherine de Medici was very brave and rode hard, but she did not understand the finer points of *Venerie*, nor could she "order the attack" in any way comparable to Anne de Beaujeu or Diane de Poitiers.

Henri's elder brother died before his father, so that on the death of the latter *Henri* became King; and with him the Renaissance in France came to its full flowering.

Henri II was a delightful person, a good horseman, quiet and gentle, good at tilting and at all sports and games, but he was quiet, melancholy and had no self-confidence—the sort of type who yearns for a pilot with judgment and decision. Diane de Poitiers provided all that he lacked. He created her Duchesse de Valentinois, adding valuable lands and castles. "I think," wrote the Court gossip Brantome, "that no lady was ever better on horseback . . . and she was very lovely of face and figure. . . . She spoke Italian, Spanish, etc." There is a lovely riding picture of Henri II at the Louvre (by Claret) wearing black and white in honour of Diane.

Henri was also a very fine horseman—horses were one of his chief interests; he had three large stud farms, the best known being at Oiron in Anjou, where Diane used to go and ride his young thoroughbreds (there are pictures at Oiron of some she rode, and her and Henri's cyphers can still be seen on the walls). There, too, was the Royal training school to which went all the young men from the best families in France to learn riding and the art of War; for at this time "War was recognised as a sporting, moral and physical necessity, a wholesome training for will and muscle, a lesson in energy and self-denial and a safety-valve for ambitions that grew heady with inaction." Campaigns opened in the spring and went on through the summer, while in winter the Chase served as training, with tennis, fencing, dancing, tilting at the ring or skating on the ponds—with reading, music and amorous adventures; it was a full life. Henri II aimed always at keeping War from France.

Probably acting on Diane's expert advice, Henri II continued to improve the Royal Hounds so that it was said he "arrived at a breed of hounds even more swift than the old ones." The

King used to hunt regularly twice a week, the Venetian Ambassador stating: "For six or seven hours he pursued the wild beasts through the woods, taking no heed of fatigue nor of his life, his horse often falling under him." During the reign of Henri II the *équipage* for stag-hunting under the Grand Veneur (François de Guise) consisted of 47 gentlemen, 4 *valets de limiers*, 7 *valets de meute*, with two packs of hounds—that of the *chiens gris* and that of the *chiens blancs*, to which the King on hunting mornings would add a select "bande ordonné être et demeuré dans sa chambre."

In 1552 Diane broke her leg when her horse fell from putting its foot in a hole while crossing a wooden bridge. Now, over fifty, she still has a milk-white skin, preserving her complexion, they said, by bathing her face in ice-water every morning, and still she rides and dances better than any other woman at Court. Duchess of Valentinois in her own right, she rebuilt the beautiful de Brézé château of Anet, making it the most perfect hunting-box the world has ever seen, having it decorated and furnished by the finest artists in France, with the best library, the finest collection of sporting books of the century, the best designed kennels, stables and store-rooms in Europe of the day.

To the Duchess also was due the beautifying in the same way of the ancient Royal palace of Chenonceaux, where the gardens became the finest in Renaissance France. There Diane "hunted, went over her lands on horseback, or in her 'slung chariot' (the first spring carriage), tilted at the ring, and treated the country with special favour." (J. d'Orliac.) A grateful monarch granted her many other estates, making her the richest subject in Europe, as well as earning her the hatred of the envious and the spite of her political opponents—the new and Protestant party in the State—consequently being slandered whenever opportunity arose. Thus it is that historians remind us chiefly of Diane de Poitiers' worst points—doubtless she was avaricious, conservative, luxurious, seeking the advancement of her own family like any true Frenchwoman. She was the feminine counterpart of the Great Constable and should be regarded as the last great uncrowned princess of the Renaissance, with feudal power intact. On the death of the King the Duchess of Valentinois retired from public life to her beautiful country estates and there lived the life of a great lady till her own death in 1566. At least it was true to say of her that she did great things in life and was never among those whom her great mentor, Anne of France, called "*ombre, nombre, et encombre*"—shadows, ciphers and cumberers. It will be enough if the same can be said for some of us.

IV. QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN (1451-1504)

The fourth and last great woman we take to represent the period that regarded hunting and riding a horse as a School for life and character, is Isabella, the daughter of a King, "by the grace of God ruler of Castile," patron of Columbus and godmother of America. Hers is a most dramatic story as seen against the blood-spattered background of her own times, in which the Queen tries valiantly to save her country for the Spanish and for the Catholic Church as she thought right. As in the case of the Duchess of Valentinois, we ought only to judge the Queen of Castile by the standards of her times. Through these she passes with flying colours, but again political and religious considerations have tended to smirch her memory, and her great qualities of courage to persevere and bravery in defeat so creditable in her own day have been insufficiently realised in this. Ultra-zealous Protestant historians, because of her part in establishing the Inquisition nominally against all those who were not Roman Catholics, but actually to unmask the anti-Spanish Jews—naturally were interested in reviling her name. Also, a later Elizabethan Age, frightened and envious of the might of Spain—with its control of the Sea, of Religion and of the New World—was ready to see the worst possible in a woman who had done so much to add to her country's grandeur as Isabella. But, as a matter of fact, when our far-seeing first Tudor King, Henry VII, arranged the marriage of Isabella's eldest daughter, Katherine, with his elder son, Arthur, who died, and then with his next heir, the future Henry VIII, there was general satisfaction throughout England and until, at a later date, all things Spanish became unpopular with the English—as does in time everything or every country that cuts across our sea-borne trade.

Isabella was born in 1451—that is about the time that Louis XI was preparing to crush feudalism in France, and England was rent by the Wars of the Roses. We are told that she was fair-haired with a pink and white skin. She could not have been better bred; through her veins coursed the blood of Alfred the Great, William the Conqueror, the Plantagenet Kings of England, and the Crusading Kings of France and Spain; both her father and mother were descended from John of Gaunt, Shakespeare's "time-honoured Lancaster." At three years old it is said Isabella had broad shoulders, sturdy legs and eyes that were blue, flecked with green and gold. "Before she was ten she scorned the mule that etiquette ordained for women and children and kept her seat on a spirited horse. Days in the saddle made her hard, straight, resourceful, fearless, indifferent to fatigue, contemptuous of pain. . . . She became a skilful huntress,

commencing with hares and deer, but later following the black wild boar, and on one occasion slaying a good-sized bear with her javelin." Wild boar and bear hunting were no mean pursuits for a girl of twelve. In addition she learned to write and talk her mother-tongue with distinction; she studied grammar and rhetoric, painting, poetry, history and philosophy. She was a King's daughter and half-sister to a King—the decadent Enrique IV—during whose "reign public and private morality had never been so low since Christianity came into the land." (Walsh, *Isabella of Castile*.)

But Isabella was born to a stormy age; for eight centuries there had been War between Christians and Saracens in Spain. The close of the Middle Ages in Spain found the Jews holding the balance—and the money—with all the powerful places seemingly in their hands, the land torn with civil strife, the currency depreciated, and the Church impotent.

After an exhilaratingly dangerous girlhood, Isabella married Ferdinand, Prince of Aragon, when she was eighteen. At the age of twenty-three she unexpectedly succeeded to the throne of Castile. The old writers describe how she rode to her coronation at the Alcazar on a white horse, clad from head to foot in white brocade and ermine, the sword of State borne in front, the crown of her ancestors carried behind, and all around her the flash of burnished steel, the glitter of gold and jewels on man and beast, the rattle of the Spanish Moorish kettledrums and the blaring of the Saracen type of trumpets and the brilliant colours of Mediæval-Renaissance Spain; truly a fairy Princess of the Past, but one who would have to fight and feel and scheme and strive every inch of the way before she and the gallant future King of Aragon could see the finish of their work—a united, peaceful, enriched and religious Spain, order brought out of anarchy, the prestige of the Crown restored, Crown lands recovered from worse than robber barons, and the Constitution reformed.

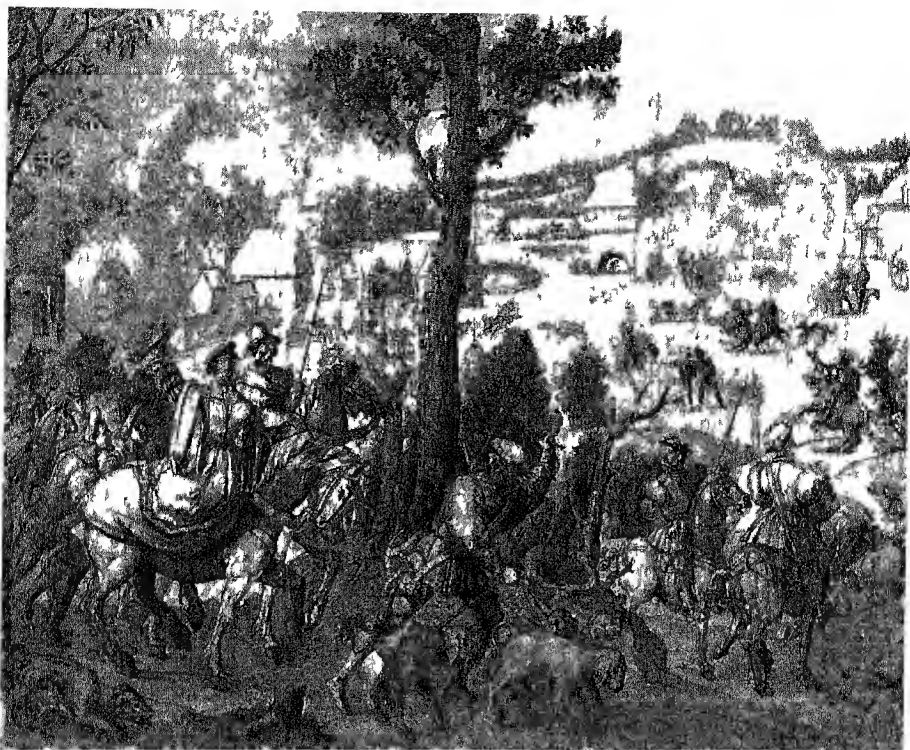
This entailed constant warfare, not only at home against the forces of inaction but with envious outside enemies—France and Portugal. Throughout all the campaigns the young Queen was always the presiding genius, planning, directing, organising. Constantly she rode backwards and forwards, wherever she could gain first-hand knowledge, make a decision and assume responsibility. Her husband and her generals and soldiers indeed won her battles—as she rightly affirmed—but they were the first to give the chief credit to the Queen. She was their Adjutant-General; she organised the supplies, her soldiers had the best field-guns of any army of the day and she forestalled Florence Nightingale by being the first in history to provide a field hospital with surgeons, nurses and equipment for her men.

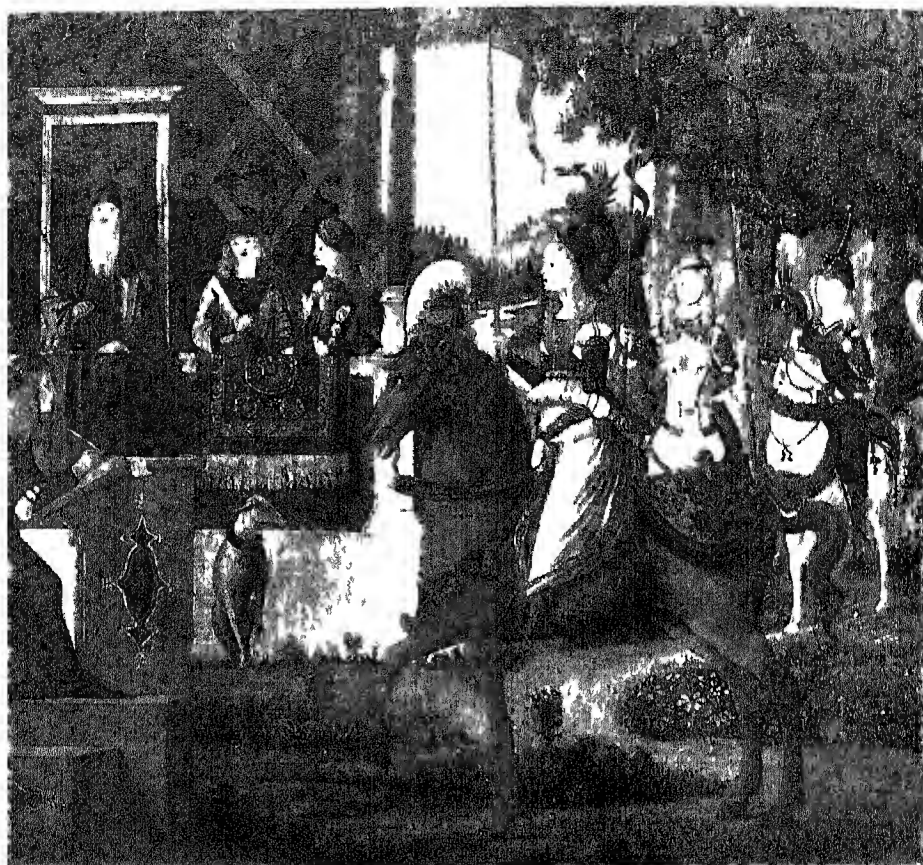
One of the "Belles Chasses" tapestry panels designed for Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, in the sixteenth century.

(Top picture) *Cartoon or pattern drawing by Van Orlay.*

(Lower) *The finished tapestry showing the Emperor Maximilian (1459-1519) and his wife, Mary of Burgundy, returning from hunting.*

(Louvre, Paris.)





Several times in her life it is related that "Isabella, wearing a breast-plate of steel over her plain brocade dress, pressed her lips silently together as she mounted her horse and took the road." At the beginning she was constantly riding from one end of Castile to the other, making speeches, attending conferences, sitting up all night dictating to her secretaries, holding court all morning, sentencing cut-throats and thieves to be hanged, riding a hundred miles or two over cold mountain passes to plead with some lukewarm supporter for five hundred soldiers. The story of Isabella's early life is like a game of chess, with the pieces in armour. The common people loved her; the Church thought of her so highly that they gave her most of their priceless silver plate to be melted down and pay for the Wars, trusting her word alone. She had this difference from so many others thrust into history, that she had perfect judgment in a crisis, an infallible intuition for selecting her advisers and her lieutenants, and though above petty things herself she knew how to gain and use the plaudits of the people, turning pageants and display into winning political points. Like Joan of Arc, she insisted on clean living and clean speech among those around her; the roughest soldiers knelt daily at prayer in the field "because the Queen requested it."

Gunpowder was only just beginning to do away with the warfare of the Age of Chivalry; infantry were still largely an auxiliary arm intended to dispatch and capture fallen knights, but increasingly learning to use cross-bows, Moorish muskets and arquebuses. It is always difficult to be a successful pioneer; to Isabella belongs largely the credit for pioneering in new equipments and successful arms of war, and in the same way she was probably the first Royal patron of the new art of printing, quickly realising its use "to provide more books for learned men." To her belonged the credit for much of the pomp and ceremony of life—which we call civilisation.

Spain undoubtedly owed to Isabella's clear intellect, resolute energy and unselfish patriotism much of that greatness which for the first time it acquired under "the Catholic sovereigns." The Castilian Court became "the nursery of virtue and of generous ambition." The Queen did much for Art and letters. She so encouraged music and singing, especially in the army, that Spanish horns and drum music became famous all over Europe. She believed it was necessary for the sake of Christendom to preserve unity in Spain. The very sincerity of her religious convictions led her into more than one act which offends a more "refined Age"; her efforts to establish the Inquisition for the purpose of distinguishing between real and insincere converted Jews were based on high motives of piety, though probably it

(Top picture) *Fifteenth-century lady riding astride. "The Queen of the Amazons" (by Carpaccio, 1478-1522).*

(Musée J. André, Paris.)

(Lower) *Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566) as Diana the huntress.*

(Musée de Cluny.)

was convenient that so much confiscated property could be used in conquering the Moors of Granada who for centuries had held Southern Spain. (*British Encyclopædia*.)

And always between campaigns Isabella hunted wolves and boars in the forests near Madrid. We read how the Queen would return to the city, "on a mule magnificently caparisoned with silks and cloth of gold, the bridle held by two pages of noble family in tunics embroidered with the Arms of Castile. She smiled happily, a slender figure with hair like molten copper in the sun. Her husband, in sparkling armour of Toledo steel inlaid with gold and silver, rode beside her on a great chestnut horse." And on the way to Mass she "sat beautifully on her white horse with its gilded saddle and caparisons of gold and silver, wearing a silk shirt woven with pearls, surrounded by her grandees, soldiers and musicians."

A short time before the birth of a fifth and last child—who was Catherine, the future Queen of England and the pawn in the game between Henry VIII and the Pope—a letter came from a great Spanish Grandee to which Isabella replied: "Send Christobal Columbus to Cordova and we shall hear what he has to say when we return." This was 1485, in the middle of the devastating war with the Moors. Again, it was the Queen's happy instinct—or perfect judgment of men and affairs—which led her, when the King and others had heard with incredulity the scheme of Columbus, to recall the wanderer to her presence with the words: "I will assume the undertaking for my own crown of Castile, and am ready to pawn my jewels to defray the expenses of it, if the funds in the treasury should be found inadequate." In 1493 Columbus came back from America with his marvellous report. Again the Queen sent him back with seventeen ships and a great number of emigrants, including seeds of all kinds, and domestic animals. To her should go the credit that the armies of the Conquistadors, who were to carry civilisation later from the Atlantic to the Pacific, lived on the great droves of swine descended from the eight pigs Columbus took on this his second voyage. Here perhaps is a suitable place to draw attention to the tremendous feats of these Conquistadors which could not have been successful without their horses, and to them the Conquistadors gave the greatest possible credit, in all their reports referring to each by name. It is interesting that all these horses were bred in Spain or descended from Spanish horses.

Horses were one of the passions of the great Queen's life; among the most successful of her great reorganisations were the establishment of the great stud farms in Andalusia and other localities in Spain favourable for horse-breeding. There is no doubt that "Arabian" blood had been introduced in Iberian and

Celtic days ; Pliny remarked the excellence of native Spanish horses, and horses were most carefully bred by the Moors of Southern Spain, to whom we owe many of the amenities of civilisation. A *genet* of Southern Spain was at first merely a pleasant-going *hacknée*¹ Breeding horses of the best type for internal use or export was one of the most valuable industries of the day ; the Queen's studs became the most famous in Europe. She favoured a colour which was named after her—"Isabels" being, I fancy, bright bay or chestnut with possibly cream manes and tails. Her detractors turned this into calling all cream-coloured horses "Isabels,"² which they said was the colour of her linen. No doubt it was not as clean as some of those who sat quietly at home ! "Isabels" are often referred to by old writers and were highly prized ; the eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden presented a coach-team of "Isabels" to Louis XIII ; and the Duke of Newcastle refers to horses of the colour "known as Isabels" in his book, published in 1648

One who rode so much and so well, and who depended so greatly on horses, was likely to be a careful breeder of blood-stock—though, as in the case of most breeders, it would be a later age that would really benefit from and appreciate the Queen's judgment.³ In another hundred years Spanish horses would become the most prized in Europe ; we shall hear much more about them later on

We already know that Margaret of Austria married the Queen's only son and how the early death of that charming young man was a national calamity. Isabella's eldest daughter was also widowed when her husband, the young Prince of Portugal, was killed from a fall out hunting ; there would be other tragic deaths in the family, so that in the end there would come to the throne of a united Spain the son of Isabella's daughter Juana ("Crazy Jane"), the Emperor Charles V—the most powerful ruler in the world since the greatest of Roman Emperors.

Queen Isabella died seven years after her son—in 1504—the very year that there entered Salamanca University a boy of

¹ *Hacknées*, i.e. hackney or hack, came from the Andalusian *jaca*, pronounced "haca," meaning "the horse of the country"

² "Isabel" or Isabel coloured horses—yellow or cream, with white manes and tails, were called by the Arabs *ashabad*. The old Welf (or Pope's party) colours were yellow and white and Queen Isabella was a great supporter of the Pope Cream Hanoverian horses were always used by Queen Victoria and King Edward driving in State processions

³ To-day the Spanish horse remains a hardy specimen of nature in the northern hill country as it was in the days of the great Queen, though probably still smaller and much less cared for. The Hon. Mrs. Michael Mason rode one in a trip across the mountains of Northern Spain in 1933, and brought it back to England. The Spanish hill-pony took to hunting in the Heythrop country as to the manner born ; and no wonder, as perhaps it was on his forebears that Queen Isabella rode wild boar hunting (*Trivial Adventures*, M. H. Mason)

fourteen called Hernando Cortes, who was to carry the standards of Castile and Aragon to Mexico on horseback ; and in the Army there was a soldier called Pizarro, whose son would win for Spain the gold-mines of Peru. In Germany there was another boy, Martin Luther, growing up to see only the evil side of that Christendom for which the great Queen had toiled so devotedly in a life of staggering difficulties ; and Cervantes would gain immortality by ridiculing all the things which seemed best to her. Life is ever thus ; but if to be great is to be the finest exponent of the highest standard of one's day, then Isabella was the foremost woman of her Age. She was a great Queen, she placed her country at the helm of Europe, she was kind and loyal, good to the poor and yet it was said that she was glad to sit quietly and sew the buttons on to her husband's shirt ; and the old chroniclers add : " His Majesty would wear no other."



*Court lady riding astride for hunting, circa 1550-1630
(after Tempesta).*

CHAPTER VIII

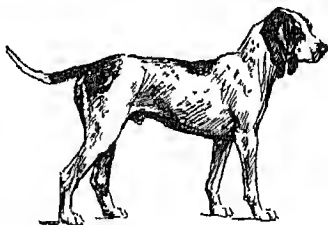
THE ROYAL HOUNDS OF FRANCE AND "LA CHASSE ROYALE"

*"Je dirai que la meilleur connaissance qui y soit
c'est à la race."*

CHARLES IX.

I

IN THE FRANCE OF CHARLES IX STAG-HUNTING WAS THE FINEST sport in the world, and as such most worthy to be accounted Royal. The bears, wolves, wild boars and deer abounding in the Middle Ages had now largely retired to the "out-backs," wild parts of Brittany, Poitou, etc. Red deer were preserved for the King in his Forests, and the best way to hunt was with the King. Royal hunting had long ceased from being a pot-hunting affair and had become a science to study and an art. As Science and the Arts were all the fashion of the day King Charles was definitely interested to commit his ideas to paper, in the same way that his contemporaries were doing on other matters—statesmanship, the Bible, Chemistry, and so forth. The thin volume was called *La Chasse Royale*, the Royal Hunt, or perhaps Royal Hunting is the more correct sense.



*Chien de Gascogne, famous
staghound of ancient breed.*

Undoubtedly, France was the leading nation in Europe for many a long day from the middle of the fifteenth century, the Spanish Empire represented by the family possessions of the Hapsburgs, gold and the Spanish Navy not excepted. Leading French thought, ever artistic and responsive to fresh ideas from the Mediterranean, flourished as never before under the warming sun of the Renaissance, represented at first dully by Louis XII and then in midday splendour in turn by Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV—a succession of kings, every one of whom adored hunting and

cherished the Royal Hounds as much as or more than most of their possessions, down to that last Louis XVII, who, the day the Bastille fell, wrote in his hunting diary, *Rien*—"nothing to relate."

It was under the morning glory of the reign of Francis I that the Poitevan *veneur* Jacques de Fouilloux wrote his famous *Traité de la Venerie*, published in 1561, and establishing the fact that the Royal hounds were running as a pack with a real professional to hunt them and hunt-servants to attend them—another milestone, and a very imposing one on the hunting way. All the same, one might point out here that there was no equivalent for the modern expression "to hunt hounds"; in *Venerie* hounds hunted their game, they had servants to attend them but no one "hunted" them!

At this time the King represented in himself France—he was France. French ideas were slavishly copied by foreigners and, of course, at home high and low, young and old, new families and ancient, Churchmen, soldiers and sailors, civilians and lawyers, ladies and gentlemen, all came to Court and endeavoured to bask in the Royal rays. Consequently, they all hunted if the King hunted, whenever they could. For them Jacques de Fouilloux wrote his treatise; there were many new people who wanted to learn, and there were many old people who knew nothing of the latest Royal ideas of hunting *chasse-à-courre*. For generation after generation *La Traité de Venerie* remained the hunting bible of Frenchmen.

An old poet of the day refers to the pastimes of the smaller country gentleman of the time (sixteenth century) of Catherine de Medici in France: "au printemps il prend le reynard dans les parvs de retz et deterre le blaieau. En été il force le lièvre, furette les counils dans ses garennes, arquebuse à l'affut les sangliers qui ravagent les récoltés des paysans, tiennent des merles et des grives avec son arc à jalet. En automne grandes chasses aux sangliers, puis aux loups avec l'arquebuse et les toiles, vols pour grives, pour pie, pour milan, chasse de l'alouette au miroir. En hiver chasse au traineau, tu des perdrix sur la neige; la tonnelle; le loup avec les mestifs et les lévriers d'attache. (Claude Gauchet.)

There is nothing so conservative as sport, and in Republican France to-day hunting remains a shadow of its former self, but a distinctly Royalist relic of the past, wanting only its lost figure-head.

When J. de Fouilloux wrote, there were said to be one hundred thousand hounds in France; wolves, wild boars, and the depleted deer were hunted in the back-blocks of Brittany and other parts of France harder than ever, but the Royal stag in the Royal Forests of Fontainebleau, etc., were forbidden to all save the King,

and it is the French Royal Hunt, rather than that of any noble or commoner, which now concerns us. The French King set the pace for all to follow and for all the other Courts of Europe, including the relatively unimportant one of England. Queen Elizabeth was always great enough to be herself, but her father, Henry VIII, and her successor, James I, minded very much what the French sovereign thought of them, and no man likes to be considered a poor sportsman. They desired to copy French ways in everything.

And so it happened, as if to enlighten everyone, that Charles IX wrote down his own ideas of Royal hunting, which he called by the appropriate title: *La Chasse Royale*. So that with J. du Fouilloux we have fairly full details regarding what was one of the most important and stateliest proceedings in the world of that time, and of vital consequence to the development of English hunting—the full effect of which would not be evident for many years.

First, a little as to the Royal author, whose death at the early age of twenty-four was attributed by some to a broken and a contrite heart, by others to appendicitis, and by his own physician, the father of modern surgery, the celebrated Ambrose Paré, to overmuch blowing of his hunting horn. Charles IX (1550–1574) King of France, the third son of Henry II and Catherine de Medici, is chiefly remembered in history books for his part in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. But he does not altogether seem to be to blame for the enormity enacted in his name, nor was he altogether the hypocrite that his action—or lack of action—would suggest. Rather was his fault that he was weak, ill-balanced and hesitating by nature. Thereafter the terrible events in which he had played a despicable part changed his character, and Charles IX is remembered chiefly as one of the least attractive Kings of France. He became melancholy, severe and taciturn, haunted day and night by nightmares. Never strong, at the age of twenty he looked an old man, and died heart-broken—or, as it was said at the time, of over-blowing his horn out hunting.

Before the tragedy which marred his young life, Charles IX was probably not a promising monarch for times which needed a man of parts, cautious, strong and of great tact, to unite the Huguenot and Catholic factions—or at least prevent an open rupture from the disasters of which the realm would never recover. Charles became King on the death of his elder brother Francis II in 1560, but as he was only ten years old the power remained in the hands of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, who was advised in State matters by her Italian favourites and the Guises, though at times in her life she showed signs of trying to

break away from them to join with the Huguenot and Condé party.

The truth about Catherine de Medici will probably never be known : perhaps unfairly she has been painted very black by English Protestant historians. Undoubtedly she was badly treated by her husband in her young days, and her sons seem all to have been weak, decadent, incapable young men. Catherine had no easy job ; probably her intention was to balance the power of both parties in the State, and above all to maintain the authority of the Crown. The times were difficult, standards were not high, chivalry was dead, Machiavelli had stirred a world beginning to doubt the old tenets of religion and the four-squareness of the world ; Luther had the temerity to question the authority of a Papal Bull and remained alive to exploit the event ; new inventions—such as gunpowder—were disturbing to statesman and man-at-arms alike ; science and medicine in their infancies were more akin to Black Magic than to the teachings of St. Francis. Catherine was an Italian—never popular with the French, and Italy was the font of the New Learning, or the Black Arts—whichever one might choose to call it. No wonder, then, if one of her sons died it was said she caused it by her Italians, and if an enemy to the State conveniently deceased suddenly, he became the recipient of a pair of poisoned gloves from the Queen Mother ! Whatever the truth of big affairs of State, it seems tolerably certain that none of Catherine's children were properly educated for their great stations in life. But there again historians differ ; some say that Catherine was not allowed to over-see their governesses and tutors, others that Diane de Poitiers did not allow them to be properly brought up. It was said at the time that none of " the brood of the Italian " ever were fit to benefit from the best of upbringing, and the Venetian Ambassador of the day writing home about the young King says : " It is feared that he may become cruel." But, whatever his defects, Charles IX is interesting to us here as a King of France who so loved hunting that he wrote *Traité de la Chasse Royale* (published in 1625 and reprinted in 1859).

There is no doubt that Charles IX was a sincere lover of literature and laid the foundations of the first Académie Française. He wrote poetry himself ; his dearest friend seems to have been the charming poet Ronsard, but he dedicates his book with touching simplicity to a certain Mesnil " *simple lieutenant de sa vénerie* "—" Mesnil en ce petit traité que je veux faire de la chasse-du-cerf, devant que personne commence à le lire, je n'advoue et confessors que j'ai appris de vous ce peu que j'en scios."

His reign saw the printing of several treatises on Hunting ;

du Fouilloux produced the first edition of his *Venerie*; Clamorgan dedicated to the young King his *Treatise on Wolf Hunting*; Passerat wrote his poem of "The Hound"; Gaucher, almoner of Charles IX, described in verse the different kinds of hunting; the poet Baif celebrated the great doings of the royal huntsman; then Ronsard sang the praises of "*Courte* the hound-bitch" and of the *chien gris* "Beaumont" and rendered homage in an elegy to that treatise on hunting the stag which death prevented the King from finishing. Charles was also a musician and composed some *fanfares de chasse*.

As a youth the young king was attractive and good mannered. He had the modern craze for violent exercise—a relic of his forebears maybe, but which in that Italianised Court was considered rather barbarous and disgusting. So long as he showed no signs of interfering in affairs of State he was left to enjoy himself as he liked in the hardest games of tennis and the longest days' hunting, for which by build he was not really fitted. Proclaimed of age on August 17th, 1570, he was so absorbed in these things that he submitted docilely to his mother and left the government of the Kingdom in her hands. King Charles' book was probably opportune; so many of the new-comers to Court came from the new families who had been discouraged in the previous reign by Diane de Poitiers, who had always favoured the old families, now largely extinct—the result of the Bourbon revolt as well as of the expense of Court life. As H. d'Agrippa expressed it: "*Si quelqu'un vent devenir gentilhomme, qu'il devienne chasseur premièrement, car ce sont là les principes et les rudiments de la noblesse.*" They all wanted to learn to hunt, but as the King remarks himself: "You cannot learn by a book, but only by experience and long practice."

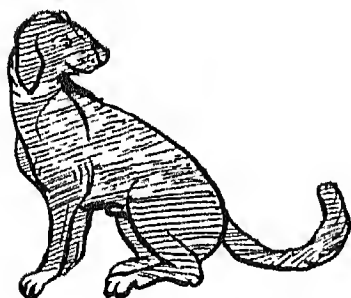
II

What is interesting to us is the fact that King Charles appears to have cared more about his hounds than about the details of hunting or the actual sport. He was the first real "houndman" to put his ideas on paper; Gaston Phœbus could not be called a houndman as he never hunted a pack of hounds in the modern sense. Aldrovandus, a famous Italian naturalist (born 1522), classified hounds as "white, yellow, dun and black; the white being best in the heat, the blacks were slow as shorter in leg."

Charles IX states that in his time there were three distinct breeds of hounds used for hunting the stag in the Royal Kennels, with different establishments for each. Du Fouilloux adds a fourth breed. It is likely that "all fox-hounds hunting to-day

owe something to one or more of these sixteenth-century breeds " says Count le Couteulx de Canteleu in *Manuel de Venerie française*. These special four were :

(1) The *Chiens Gris* or the Royal Grey Hounds. These must not be confused with greyhounds or *gre-hounds*. The *Chiens Gris* were descended from an ancient breed of grey-coloured rough-coated hounds, said to have been brought back by St. Louis "from Tartary" after the disastrous third Crusade when the French King was taken prisoner. King Charles refers to his "rather unfortunate" ancestor who was thus "forced to stay longer than he had intended in the East," but while there heard of a wonderful pack of *chiens gris* "excellent for hunting the stag" which he bought and took back with him to France at the end of his captivity. They may have been some type of rough-coated Saluki hound as has been bred in the East since



The Chien Gris (Du Fouilloux).

the dawn of history—"Tartary" and "Barbarie" being terms loosely applied by untravelled historians in the sixteenth century. Or they may have been Tibetan or Russian in origin. The French authority—M. le Cte. le Couteulx de Canteleu—in *Manuel de Venerie française* (1890) gives a picture in his book of "the ancient race of *Chiens Gris* or *Griffons de St. Louis*"; they are rough-coated, heavy-built hounds, showing characteristics of

the modern bloodhound, otter-hound, and Airedale terrier, the Count stating that they were the colour of a wolf, fawn or touched with grey, black and silver, and had fine noses and magnificent voices, and there were a few of them left in France at the end of the nineteenth century, showing the great vitality of this breed which had perhaps six hundred years of breeding behind it. Charles IX says "the true breed are of the colour of a hare." Du Fouilloux praised their shape—well defined strong backbones, straight hocks and well formed feet; they were rough coated. Is it possible that from the Royal *chiens gris* of France are descended the Scottish deer-hound immortalised by Sir Walter Scott? Is it not a fact that Scotland and France at this time were much closer to each other, culturally, politically and perhaps sportingly, than either were to England at the same period? What more likely than that a present of some Royal Grey Stag-hounds passed to the King of Scotland to hunt his deer—particularly at a time when some of the Kings of France, like

Charles IX, were beginning to find these hounds "were not good to hunt with, if the deer is far ahead or up to tricks."¹

Du Fouilloux adds to King Charles' information about the *Chiens Gris* that as well as in ancient days serving the Kings of France, they were bred by the Dukes of Alençon, and in the time of Francis I were "the most useful type of hounds for ordinary gentlemen as they will hunt anything their owner starts for them." Henri II is said to have preferred "the grey" as they were more certain and more intelligent. Apparently there were several strains bred in various parts of the country—"the best being those with reddish on front and chest with legs the same—the colour of a hare's hindleg." Those with a little too much silver grey, with legs tending to be light or even white, being not so hardy or fast as the others. Turberville, translating du Fouilloux into English, refers to the *Chiens Gris* as the Dun Hounds. He calls them "verie opiniate, hard to believe their huntsman . . . inclined to change because of the great compasses which they cast when they are at fault." Evidently they were very fast and had dash and drive, but disliking "pressure of horsemen," so became useless for the Royal Hunt in its full pomp and splendour. "Neither did they greatly esteem a chase which doubleth or turneth before them, but if the chase hold endlong, you shall hardly find better or swifter hounds." Louis XII had a favourite hound called "Relais" who was of the *chien gris* breed, who "took many a stag in the Royal Forests," and died at the age of thirteen.

(2) The *Chiens Noirs*—the Royal Black Hounds. These Charles IX says were of "middle size with red or fawn markings above the eyes and down the legs and sometimes with a splash of white on the chest, but if they have white it is little. Their manner of hunting is by *le mener* or hunting the line exactly where the game has passed." They were slow, lacking in drive, but were excellent line-hunters. There is no doubt that they were descendants of our friends "the St. Huberts"—six of which were still given to the King of France annually by the Abbot of St. Hubert and originated from the black "St. Hubert."

Le Couteulx states that Queen Elizabeth imported some of these "Royal Black Hounds" and that they were so carefully kept and bred from by the few distinguished houses who managed to obtain a couple that they became known in England as the *Chiens de sang*, or dogs of pure blood, thence Blood Hounds, in the same sense as horses of pure descent were called blood horses

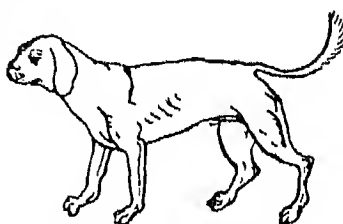
¹ Lord Ribblesdale mentions in his *Queen's Hounds and Stag Hunting Recollections* (1897) that he noticed a good deal of *surrot*, or mouse colour, among the hounds then kept by the Marquis de Valon for stag-hunting in France

and princes of the blood royal as "of the Blood." A more usual idea is that the name bloodhound comes from following a trail of blood—in the sense of the "sluth hound" of the Scottish Borders. It is difficult to be certain and it is likely that the meaning of such names has changed according to district or vocation in the course of centuries. Be that as it may, undoubtedly the Royal Black Hound was something like the modern bloodhound in appearance, but more active, and without those exaggerated show bench characteristics we have become accustomed to associate with the type, and with considerably more light colour, or even white about them—white tipped sterns and chests being typical of the times.¹

Charles IX states that the Black Hounds were "better in hand than out of couples"—meaning that they were more useful worked singly in hand as limiers, etc. than when running together



Chien Noir (Du Fouilloux).



Chien Blanc—the Greffier (Du Fouilloux).

free in a pack. It is interesting here to note that Lord Ribblesdale noticed the same characteristic when he had a day's hunting with Lord Wolverton's pack of bloodhounds in 1889—"they might just as well have kept to one or two old hounds for all the use the others were, as each hound insisted on hunting the exact line himself with the result that the pack strung out in a long line one behind the other like a frieze of hunting dogs." (*The Queen's Hounds*, Lord Ribblesdale, 1897.)

(3) The *Chiens Blancs*, surnamed *Greffier*.—The Royal White Hounds. Of these darlings the King says: "I have found so much good in them that I cannot say enough good of them, for indeed all that the two other, Black and Grey, have in them

¹ Grantley Berkeley hunted a pack of "bloodhounds" derived from some bred at Berkeley Castle. Count le Couteulx suggests that these may have been the descendants of some of those *Chiens de pur sang* imported into England by M. de Beaumont in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I. "Sir Thomas Berkeley was in high esteem at the Court of James I and was likely to have been one of those aristocratic families, the recipients of royal favour and the gift of valuable hounds" (*Manuel de Vénérerie*)

these have, and nothing that they have of bad. They are brave hunters and true hounds. They are faster than the Grey and cleverer than the Black, never giving tongue when they own not the scent, and when the change bounds up it is then they delight in hunting the true line." This steadiness when fresh deer get up under their noses is still the criterion of a good pack of stag-hounds, and in wooded country must have been almost essential in order to bay a stag.

The King goes on about his White Hounds "however young they be they never run riot,"—roe, hare, fox or rabbits. Regarding their appearance, the King says that they were as large as "levriers." Now *levriers* is often translated as hare-hound, hart-hound, greyhound and harrier, but the old French *levrier* seems to have been rough-coated and like a collie—in fact a dog very like a borzoi before his characteristics became exaggerated by breeders for show purposes. (Previous to the Russian Revolution borzois were kept by some of the Russian princes for hunting.) A bas-relief at the Louvre sculptured by Jean Goujon, who did so much decoration for Diane de Poitiers at Anet and Chenonceaux, gives us some idea of the appearance of the white hounds. King Charles says that the Great White Hounds had heads as beautiful as greyhounds; they were *evidently very good-looking, smooth coated, and as good as they looked.*

The Comte le Couteulx writes: "One can say that from Francis I to Louis XIV *la vénerie* was in its glory and that our hounds had arrived at possessing those qualities which they have not yet completely recovered (1890) though we have made enormous progress in forty years. Hounds *prenaient* (or took) their stag at least as fast as now in forests very much larger, peopled with many more game and much less open. *Vénerie* furnished hounds for all the foreign princes. Thanks to all the memoirs, and to all the letters published the last twenty years and exhumed from the archives of London, St. Petersburg and Venice I can give entire pages of proofs of the accuracy of these facts." (*Manuel de Vénerie française*).

With regard to the ancestry of his hounds Charles IX wrote: "Without doubt, the first Hounds there were in our Europe were a race of black hounds and a race of white hounds, and in the course of time the two distinct breeds became very much mixed." In his day he says that the pure white breed was known as "the Greffier" and the black as "the St. Hubert" (though both colours had been known and used by the sporting Saint). It is possible that a certain "nationalistic" feeling may have influenced Charles IX to claim the founder of the Royal White Hounds for a French-bred sire, as we know that J. du Fouilloux stated that

"Souillard" was of foreign extraction (see p. 171). Regarding these Great White Hounds, "surnamed Greffiers," the King relates that a white St. Hubert dog crossed with a *brache d'Italie* (probably a hart-hound) belonging to one of the Royal Secretaries in the time of Louis XII called Greffier, "resulted in a dog all white except for a fawn spot on his shoulder"—a mark which Charles IX states that the breed still had in his time. This particular dog "was so good that few stags lived before him. He was called 'Greffier' because of the afore-said Greffier who had given his mother. This hound sired thirty pups all as good and excellent as himself; and little by little the breed got established." And Charles IX says that the Kennels at the Park des Loges, near St. Germain, were built to house this breed of Royal White Hounds descended from Greffier. With regard to the origin of the name "Greffier" Count H. de la Ferrière, in *Chasses de François I*, says that Greffier meant Secretary to the King; Baron Pichon, in his *Histoire de la Chasse Française*, believes the Greffier owner of the Italian hart-hound bitch to have been a certain Jean Robertet, a friend of de Brézé.

Du Fouilloux has a slightly different theory about the Great White Royal Hounds, stating that they were all descended from the famous white dog *Souillard* given to the Princess Anne, as already described. He says that from the crossing of *Souillard* with *Baude*, or *Baulde*, resulted this breed of *greffier*, "which were so good that few stags escaped them." The *Chiens Blancs Royal* were quick, with drive and nose, but du Fouilloux says lacked size and substance until Francis I decided to use "a tawny dog called *Mirant* given to him for that purpose by M. l'Admiral d'Annebault." We assume that *Mirant* was one of these "red fallow" hounds so much liked by Gaston de Foix, i.e. fallow deer coloured, red or tan—now known as the Fawn Hounds of Brittany. Golden, sandy fallow was long regarded as the colour of a good hound (like Shakespeare's hounds—"so sand'd," i.e. sand coloured—the lemon pie of to-day). The blood of the *chiens fauves* was, of course, already in these white hounds, as Princess Anne had several of them in her pack; among others the famous "Baulde, la bonne lice rouge qui tant de bien a sceu." Du Fouilloux adds that these Royal White Hounds of the *greffier* breed had been further improved in the reign of Henry II (so probably at the suggestion of Diane de Poitiers, for was she not acknowledged as the most expert *veneur* of the time, and he was said never to do anything without her approval or initiation) by the introduction of a white dog called *Barraud*, given to him by the Queen of Scotland, Marie de Guise, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. We do not know whether this dog was bred in France or

Scotland ; it would be nice to think he was one of those ancient breed of pure white hounds famous in tradition and legend from before the days of written history, " plus blanc que flors de lis," so praised by the minstrel Thomas the Rhymer in his Border Ballads. Surely the Queen of Scotland would send her cousin the best her new home could provide, knowing how he loved hunting, and if he had not been outstandingly good, Diane de Poitiers from all accounts would have tactfully avoided using him. Anyhow, the result was that, as one old writer alleges, " the king's own white dogs so surpassed all others that one could not say too much good of them."

So long before Charles IX came to the throne the Royal White Hounds were a well-established breed. In *Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique* there are delightful miniatures of Francis I hunting his white hounds, and a note that in 1519 he went hunting in the Forest of Bievre, taking " Gaillart (Gallant), Gallebault (Gilbert), Billehau, Myrault and Réal—being 'the best of the white greffier'—which were the best hunters 'par terre et par eau, en charge et hors change.' They knew their work so well that one could not catch them, and there was not a horse which did not die or break down trying to follow them."

G. Turberville, in his *Booke of Hunting*, 1576, thus expresses du Fouilloux on the Royal White Hounds: they were "most proper for Princes being fair, gallant hunters, lusty rangers ; and good of scent, which give not over the chase for any heat, and are not easily overlaid or broken with the throng of the riders, nor with the noise and cry of many men which attend Princes on hunting. They keep the chase better without change and are better to trust with ; they *do* fear the water a little, especially in the winter when it is cold." As Lord Bathurst in his well-known *Breeding of Foxhounds* says, after quoting the above :

"This is a very good character of the old white French hound, and if our white, grey, or lemon-coloured hounds of to-day are descended from the Royal White Hounds of France, no Master of Hounds need be ashamed of it. One never sees a bad white or light-coloured hound, and personally I am very fond of them and think it a great mistake to knock the light-coloured whelps on the head. I think it is a great advantage to be able to see them at their work, and a gleam of white in the distance is often very convenient on a dark evening, when a pack of all-tan might be almost invisible. The fact is that the dark Belvoir tan is nothing more than a fashion, and a fashion that is very difficult to go against. . . . I believe this fashion for the tan colour has done an immense amount of harm. It has caused the destruction of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of whelps which might have been as good as Brocklesby Rallywood 1843, Brocklesby Ruler 1844, a rich yellow pie, or Mr. Osbaldeston's Furrier

1820—who was a very black and white hound, or the Berkeley Crom-wall 1855, a white hound."

And Sir Walter Gilbey, in *Hounds in Old Days*, suggests that "the general appearance and quality of the Royal Greffier when considered with those of our old English stag-hounds, permit the assumption that the latter owed something of their speed, nose and colour to a cross of the French white hound."

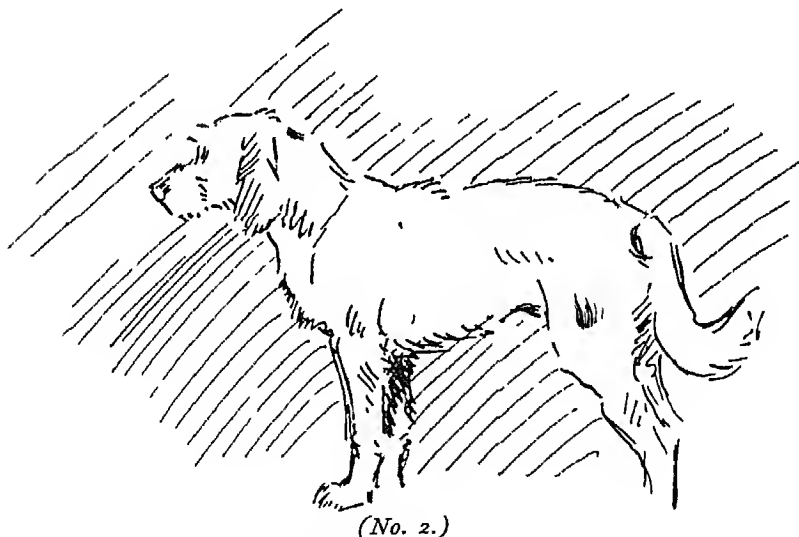
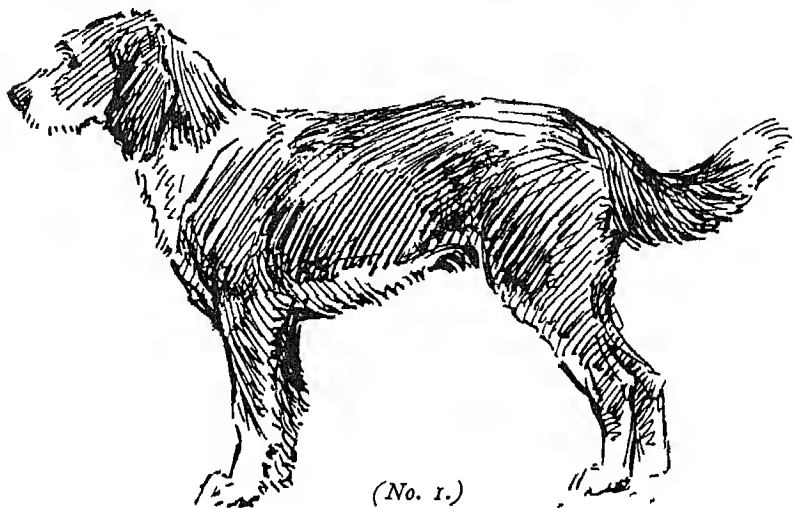
It is likely that Lord Bathurst's remarks as to the visibility of white hounds appealed to the French Court hunting in woodlands, with equal insistence as it did to the late Sir Edward Curre, who bred a pack of pure white hounds for hunting the rather rough country north of the Mouth of Severn—you can see them even if you are too far off to hear them, or cannot get to them.



Cattistock "Woodbine." Sir E.
Curre's blood. (very light yellow
tan-spotted bitch).

The only fault mentioned by du Fouilloux of these white hounds was that "occasionally they run at tame beasts"—presumably sheep, cats, pet dogs, etc.—when other game lacked. This is to-day a characteristic of certain Welsh hounds! Indeed, Count le Couteulx suggests that some Welsh foxhounds are descended from the Royal White Hounds. Lord Bathurst writes: "Many so-called Welsh hounds to-day are descended from some French hounds which were known to have been imported from France by the Monks of Margam Abbey in Tudor days for the purpose of hunting the great stags which frequented the marshes on the north bank of the Bristol Channel near to the present town of Port Talbot." It is possible that these hounds spread throughout Wales and are represented to-day by rough coats, large proportion of white colour, good noses, lack of stamina and pace and dash compared to the best English foxhounds—all characteristics of certain French hounds to-day, as, for instance, the smooth-coated *Chien Chambray*, which the Société de Vénérerie française, in *Standards des Races de Chiens Courants* (1922), states: "represents near enough the type of White Hounds of the King as shown in the pictures and engravings of the period." It is sad we do not know if the Abbot of Margam really obtained some Royal Greffiers; Margam was a very rich and important Cistercian Abbey in close touch with the Continent. Other authorities

like Sir Walter Gilbey state that the *Fauve Griffons* of Brittany, rough coated, were more likely the origin of Margam hounds. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries Margam was granted to Sir Edward Mansel of Penrice Castle, to whose descendant it still



Welsh foxhounds, rough-coated variety.

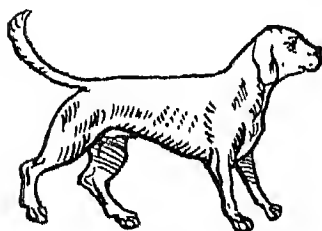
See Appendix IV.

belongs—Captain Andrew Mansel Talbot Fletcher of Saltoun. The overlords of this part of South Wales from the time of Henry VII were the Somersets, Earls of Worcester—created Dukes of Beaufort by Charles II. There is a 1648 diary of the

Marquis of Worcester (2nd Duke of Beaufort) recording his visit to Glamorgan, in which a reference is made to hunting stags at Margam as being particularly fine sport with Sir E. Mansel's hounds. I like to think that at least one of these good Margam hounds from France found its way to Badminton! There also is a tradition that the Glôg foxhounds were descended from Margam hounds; the Glôg being a private pack of hounds hunting in Wales, owned by a Mr. Davies, but which now no longer exist. (Glôg *Nimrod* (1903) was a well-known white stallion hound belonging to the late Sir E. Curre.)¹

III

From du Fouilloux we can see that there was a fourth breed of hound much used in France at that time and down to the present, the *Chiens Fauves de Bretagne* already referred to and which Turberville calls the Fallow Hounds of Brittany. They were bright red to brown in colour and much esteemed by French hunters as being "hardy and of good scent, keeping very well their chase without change and are almost of the same perfection as the white hounds are, saving that they endure not the heat so well nor yet the press of gallopers."



*Chien Fauve of Brittany
(Du Fouilloux).*

A rich tan colour seems to have betokened the best blood or "all fallow with a white ring round their necks," like the Princess Anne's, a strain of whose Fawn Hounds had first improved the Royal Whites. There is still the *Griffon fauve de Bretagne*, a rough-coated, fawn-coloured hound still used in Brittany, "hardy, courageous, a little undisciplined, self-willed, with a fair nose, good hunters in the thickest coverts"—such is their character to-day, as in the time of Du Fouilloux. But as the crowd attending Royalty and hunting grew, this more nervous, tender hound lost favour and was left out of the Royal Kennels. Some may have found their way to Wales.

An interesting section of the *Chasse Royale* relates to the breeding of hounds—showing that careful breeding from approved stock was the fashion. The King's advice might have come out of a page of Lord Bathurst's modern book. For instance, "Je dirai que la meilleure connaissance qui y soit c'est à la race. . . .

¹ Le Conteulx says also that the Bresse hound of Eastern France was brought to this country and formed the basis of the breed of so-called Welsh hounds. The Bresse breed were shaggy of coat and lemon or sandy-coloured.

To know well a hound you must see him hunt . . . carefully breeding from the best of the race."

The King gives the minute instructions of a true hound lover regarding his Kennel management. "Young hounds and whelps must have dry, warm lodging." In his day they were sent "out to walk *chez un laboureur*" who was instructed to give the puppies plenty of exercise and freedom without allowing them to hunt rabbits. At a year old the puppies were entered to hare in the pack belonging to some gentleman who hunted his own hounds, with the object, the King says, "of learning their trade and teaching them to *requester* (i.e. cast themselves to recover the line), because the scent of a hare is not so strong as a stag's and they will learn to hunt well . . . also the hare plays so many tricks"—being also the practice of the great Mr. Hugo Meynell. Young hounds learnt to come to the sound of the horn—the horn never being blown by the gentleman-huntsman "unless the game had passed that way, so that the young hounds should gain confidence in man." They stayed with him four months before being entered to the Royal Kennels.

King Charles' Kennels were planned much on the lines of the best ideas to-day. The King lays stress on the fact that there should be plenty of pure running water close by, sleeping benches for the hounds, grass paddocks for exercise, good quarters for the men, separate lodgings for sick hounds, etc. The interior of the Kennels must be dry without being stuffy, hounds must have plenty of straw for their beds, and plenty of hand-massage. Directions for the treatment of wounds and sickness are rather different from our ideas, but show a great advance on those of Gaston Phœbus and are not so rudimentary as one might expect—which perhaps is partly accounted for by the fact that one of the founders of modern surgery was the King's own doctor. How many huntsmen and kennel-men to-day would get on without their familiar iodine and patent disinfectants? I select alternative treatments recommended by Charles IX in the event of a hound being bitten by a mad dog—one of the disasters with which a Master of Hounds had to cope in the sixteenth century: (1) The bite to be washed with strong, warm vinegar; (2) or with a herb called "patience" boiled in water; (3) a poultice concocted of onions, a pinch of salt, a little honey and a drop of "brandy rue," to be applied to the bite; (4) pimpernelle, with its roots, squeezed altogether and the juice mixed with olive oil made into an omelette with fresh eggs and butter without salt, to be eaten by the sufferer; (5) the patient to be sent for a course of sea bathing; (6) or, if all else failed, to the Church of St. Denys. These remedies the King says he had "tried himself and found efficacious." Any skin irritation was treated with

cooling ointments—made of a distillation of honey, oil of nuts, and the helybore herb. “Best of all,” the King says, “is nut-oil, mixed with wild carrot, sulphur and pig-lard.” Pig-fat and weak mercury is the remedy suggested for a skin trouble among the pack, sounding like ring-worm.

Regarding the Kennel staff, the King says how “necessary it is to employ only conscientious men who are best when taken as lads and taught their jobs from the beginning. . . . Hounds must be walked out twice a day and allowed to drink at the running stream (of course there was no tap water and well water was too cold to be healthy). A good Hunt-servant must “look over all his charges carefully, one after another and judge of this or that accordingly. . . . Hounds that are well exercised, fed on good dry bread, wholesome meat bones, fresh water, and regularly hand-rubbed and combed should remain in *beauté, bonté et vigueur*; that is what a wise kennel-huntsman should do to be worthy of remaining with hounds.” The whipper-in or *picquer* must never lose sight of hounds when they are running, and he must know all about the habits of deer; he “must take great pains and work hard, as all his life will not be long enough to properly learn his art. Every day will teach him something new.” A Royal *picquer* in the sixteenth century was expected to recognise immediately the age and sex of deer by their slots (or tracks), their droppings and the frayings off antlers. “The most important thing for a *picquer* is a quick and correct judgment”—an essential characteristic of a good whipper-in to-day. Charles IX concludes his interesting little book by the equally true observation that “one cannot learn how to hunt hounds from a book, but only by experience and long practice.”

IV

Though King Charles does not give many precise details of a day's hunting with his hounds, we can get a very fair account of the proceedings, showing how new characteristics developed from the old Venerie, in letters of the period, despatches from Ambassadors, etc., and from Du Fouilloux. The latter's book was a most popular work, not only running through twenty-four French editions after its publication in 1561, but being translated into German, Italian and English. The English edition became a most popular text-book for the many “new people” who sprang up in Tudor England following the dissolution of the Monasteries, and the policy of the first Tudor in placing loyalty to himself and ability above birth or breeding. A certain George Turbervile, who is known to have written on hawking for the same people, is generally credited with the authorship of the

Art of Hunting which appeared about 1575. It is really almost a literal translation of du Fouilloux's *Traité de la Vénérerie*, but with the usual laxity of copyright laws in those days, no acknowledgment whatever was given to the French source of all the hunting information. Even to-day one often sees "G. Turberville" quoted as if he were an original authority and as if the kind of hunting he describes were in general use in England at that time. Such an idea is probably quite erroneous, as we shall see in the next chapter. No doubt the gentry of England, new and old, were much intrigued as to the method of "hunting in the French manner," and the grand ideas of the French King, and no doubt snobbishly, if for no other reasons, tried out these ideas. But as a matter of fact the English had not much chance to enjoy the *chasse-à-courre* of the red-stag except in a park enclosure, but many enjoyed reading how it should be done and the new ideas as to hunting hounds, their breeding and management, particularly as to hunting hounds in a pack, a method which they had themselves long practised with the hare.

With regard to Jacques Du Fouilloux himself, we have very little information, save that he was a gentleman of Poitou—a district in France famous for hunting—who had always enjoyed good sport and was evidently well known at the Court of that ardent *veneur* Francis I. The interesting thing to us is that he writes much as a modern Master of Stag Hounds would do who set out to tell us how a warrantable stag is to be recognised, as to slot, gait, feedings, fraying stocks and fewmets, and how he is harboured, hunted in woods or open country, how to cast when the line is lost in water, and how to take him, etc. From the time of du Fouilloux and Francis I onwards, the idea of the French Court hunting was to hunt with a pack of hounds the great hart absolutely in its wild state wheresoever it wished to go, and entirely without nets, greyhounds, noise of men, or other extraneous aids. The chief characteristic of this new hunting was the fact that *chiens courants*, i.e. real hounds, had now been bred good enough for the purpose and of such "a race," or family likeness, that they could be worked as a pack running together, instead of, as in the Middle Ages, being for the most part merely a collection of hunting dogs employed to catch a stag. It was still necessary to use *relais* to a certain extent, because of hot weather, dust and lack of water tiring hounds—stag-hunting, of course, taking place for the most part at the height of summer—May to September being still the stag-hunting season.

Life for everyone at the Court of France, from the King to the humblest *valet-de-chien*, had become much more stately,

elaborate and shall we say expensive. From simple beginnings in the days of Capetian kings, the cost of hunting grew as it increased in Royal favour ; as Mr. Baillic-Grohman says in *Sport in Art*, " it is not too much to say that not only every century, but almost every monarch saw an increase of the personnel of the hunting establishments and an augmentation of the expense of its upkeep." Jean II, before and after his period of captivity in England, had a hunting equipage consisting of eight *veneurs*, four *écuyers*, eight *aides* and eight archers all dressed in green for the summer stag-hunting, and grey for the winter boar-hunting. By the time of Charles IX the chief officer of the Royal Hunt was the *Capitaine General de la Venerie*, a position which by the time of Louis XIII practically amounted to the head of a Department of State. He was responsible for all the Royal sport, from beagling, fox-hunting, shooting with cross-bow and arquebus to the greatest game of all—the *Chasse-à-Courre*. His assistant was the *Lieutenant de la Venerie*, and probably to him fell most of the onerous duties, arranging for sufficient horses from the department of the *Premier Écuyer de la Grande Écurie*—or chief of the stables, for the Royal company—with second horses, ladies' horses, nags for the doctor, attendants and so forth—and to be sure that they were all properly turned out, shod, fed, etc., and got to the Meet at the right time. The Lieutenant had many underlings, gentlemen of the Venerie, to whom he gave his orders—Venerie was still a most honourable profession for " poor gentlemen," younger sons of the nobility, etc.—who in turn directed a horde of grooms, *valets de chien*, *valets de pied*, and the butlers, pantlers, etc., whose job it was to have a suitable meal ready for the Royal party before the hunt started.

Ronsard describes the party setting-out :

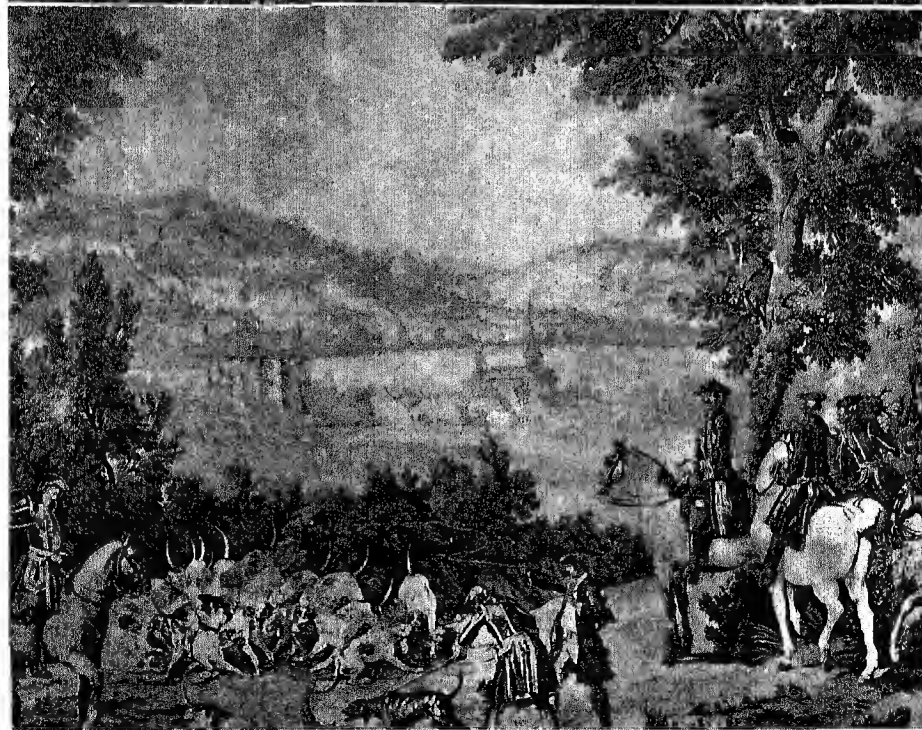
" In the morning what noise, what animation ! The hounds in couples behind the *picquers* ; the falcons covered with their hoods on the wrists of the falconers ; the *veneurs* dressed in green, red or grey following the Hunt, each provided with a sword and knife, and *épieu* (or javelin-spear tipped with steel) in their hands ; great ladies on their hackneys of Brittany—in rich velvet harness, their hats trimmed with feathers and sporting the *guelfe* or badge of the Pope, and their boots of red damascened leather, and heavy habits hooked up above the knees ; then the joyous *appels* (calls) on the horn, conveying the *rendezvous* to laggards."

We can guess that in Charles IX's day he did not allow undue frills or dallying to waste time, but in the later days of Louis XIV and Louis XV the hunt breakfast, etc., became a most important feature of the Hunt, some of the company and their lady friends taking no further part in the day's exertions. From the time of Anne of France at least, great ladies had taken to hunting *par*

*Seventeenth-century French rider.
Louis XIV as a boy with hounds
and falcon.*

(Eng. Huart, Paris.)





force, but its social side first became apparent when the Venetian Ambassador wrote home about the *petite bande* of hunting ladies who accompanied Francis I everywhere. For many years only those who had as it were "won their spurs" in the hunting-field (as in Victorian days the Hunt button was presented to a lady by the Master, instead of as now for the most part worn by right of subscription) were welcomed. Those who could not ride well, or stand long days, or were not expert *veneurs*, no matter how beautiful, etc.—were left at home. For many years, Catherine de Medici, the banker's daughter and the Pope's niece, was left out of the *petite bande* to which her station as the wife of the King's second son entitled her, till her dashing riding proved her worthy. Not for a long time were there elaborate coaches, and pony chaises for Court ladies to see the sport without taking part in the chase—such as we can see in the prints by Ridinger of the early eighteenth century.

The *Assemblée* or Meet still took place in some beautiful spot, sheltered with fine trees and close to a spring, fountain or stream of running water—in which the head butler carefully placed his "bottles and flagons of good liqueur wine" to keep cool—try this dodge at your next picnic! Cloths were laid on the grass at first, but later on elaborate tables were produced with chairs and stools for the company. Later on still a neighbouring house or inn was requisitioned and some kings preferred to do without meals till the end of the day—few people can enjoy a gallop after a large meal.

To us, of course, used to potted excitement and canned entertainment, everything seems unbelievably leisurely. It was certainly done regardless of trouble. But, in the sixteenth century, and still more so perhaps in the seventeenth and eighteenth, it must have been a lovely sight to see the Royal White Hounds trotting through the green wood with their *valets de chiens* arrayed in green plush coats—green being still the correct stag-hunting colour as grey was for the boar. The hounds were held as before in *hardes*—or couples led several together—generally three or four. With regard to the number of hounds usually taken out, we cannot be sure from du Fouilloux, but Jean de Brézé wrote that he took eleven couple to a certain Meet, while Louis XV's Grand Veneur, M. de Salnove, mentions "fifteen to twenty couple" as the right number. Two *hardes* formed a *relais* and there were now never more than three relays. The first, second and third relays were often referred to as the *relais des six chiens*, which is supposed to be because originally six good hounds were always presented to the King of France by the Monks of St. Hubert. (A "fourth relay" which is sometimes mentioned in old French books, referred to the bullet

Oudry tapestries of Louis XV hunting (1734-1744).

(Top picture) *The assemblée or meet.*

(Lower) *The hallali.*

(Photo. Alinari, Florence.)

which was used to kill the stag after the general use of fire-arms had made the despatch of the beast at the Abbaye¹ with a sword merely an unnecessary and dangerous display of skill.) Charles IX says that he himself was the first to hunt without relays as much as possible, liking to see his hounds running as a pack.

Charles IX cantered up to the Meet with his friends. Later on, his successors would often drive. All heads were bared, and after greetings and introductions the King received the reports of the lymersers through the Chief Huntsman—now become a professional, probably selected from among the "Gentlemen of the Venerie," and the greatest expert in France.

The professional element was now conspicuous in the *Chasse Royale*—probably the King had found amateur efforts to show him sport at times very undependable as amateur efforts often are, and now there were officials whose job was to do everything in the best and most efficient manner. Gone were the days in which the King merely hunted in woods adjacent to his dwelling. Francis I delighted to move about all over France, staying with subjects, or at the old and new Royal castles of Ambiose, Chenonceaux, Fontainebleau, Versailles, Blois, etc., at or near all of which Royal forests were carefully preserved by proper and paid officials. These districts were again subdivided into areas under the charge of "huntsmen" whose duty was to care for the game, and harbour the great hart when the King came hunting. Everything was carefully organised down to the smallest detail, in order to eliminate as much as possible the mischance of a bad day for the King. A time would come in France when Louis XIV organised even the forest of Versailles into absolutely rectangular blocks, criss-crossed with *allées* for his convenience in riding and driving, but in the time of du Fouilloux there still remained an element of chance, as the harbourers knew full well. Large presents were given to them and the rivalry was so acute that they accused each other of the most abominable tricks, scaring each other's game, changing "marks," even manufacturing imitation fraying-posts (against which stags rubbed their antlers, a witness to their size and strength). The reward for bringing the first fraying-post of the season to the King used to be a new coat, or in the case of a "gentleman of the venery" a new horse; but by the time of Charles IX this practice had been commuted to a tip, divided among the hunt-servants concerned in that area. As always, it was very necessary to watch all deer carefully, and get to know their habits—how, for instance, in April and May, the great harts shelter in *buissons* where their tender heads with the new horn just sprouting will not be risked damaging. In

¹ Also *abbais*, i.e. "the baying" (of the hounds) when the beaten game stood "at bay."

June, July and August they go to the *tailles* and become *en grande venaison*—at their best for eating—still evidence of the pot-filling side of sport. September and October being the "rutting season," it was considered unsporting to hunt deer; in the winter they were allowed to feed and grow and "preserve" themselves as well as possible under the King's protection, no Frenchman could "do them hurt."

Saints Hubert and Eustace were still patrons of hunting, but du Fouilloux says the *connaisseur* setting out to harbour the great hart knew how much sport still depended on the goddess Diana, and he was very pleased to see a crow, a fox or a wolf on the way, as they were of good omen; whereas, a hare, partridge, or "bird of cowardly flight" was the opposite. Do not some of us to-day take off our hats to a magpie and prefer to see two of them on the way to the Meet?

From Charles IX's account it seems now that liam hounds were a definite breed, often white spotted with black and evidently of the pointer type. (A very excellent breed of pointers was in course of development to be used later as a gun-dog, evidence of which can be seen in France to-day.)

Fewmets were still presented as in the earliest times on large leaves for the King to see the size and condition of the various stags harboured. It being decided which hart should be hunted, the successful *connaisseur* led the way with the Chief Veneur, practically the Chief Huntsman, riding beside him, whose duty was to decide the plan of campaign to move the hart and often do the work himself with his own lym-hound. The Chief Veneur ordered the *valets-de-chiens*¹ with the *relais* to their places, according to his idea of the possible "flight of the stag," the type of country, the direction of the wind and the time of year. His mounted assistants, now also professionals, were the *picquers* who originally turned the deer into nets and spurred, or pricked, galloping ahead. Their job now was to go with the different relays, to listen for sounds of the hunt when the great hart is moved from his lair, if possible to get a view from time to time without heading him from his point and to bring information back to the Chief Veneur. The *picquers* of the Royal Hunt rode good *courtaults*, "crop-ears," or half-bred horses, and wore long hunting boots pulled over their knees (the "tops" of modern hunting boots being a reminder of that fashion). They each carried a horn and wore light clothes suitable for their work—probably green coats with red waistcoats or, later, Royal livery

¹ Among the customs of the Chase, the loss of which is not regrettable was one which gave the right to the *valets-de-chiens* who looked after the *relais* to undress and beat any inquisitive bores (*curieux malavisés*) who came and asked silly questions about hunting, it was called "*donner le relais*"!

From the time of Francis I it became the fashion for gentlemen out hunting to wear nothing but their very best clothes—as they were with the King. The tradition of turning out in one's best remains in the hunting-field to-day despite the efforts of some new-comers! In the time of Charles IX there does not appear to have been any special coat or facings for the followers of the Royal Hunt as would appear later on; but du Fouilloux said "only one's best was good enough."

Before moving off from the Meet the King and all the company were presented with long switches of hazel. If the stag was "out of velvet"—his antlers were clean—the bark was peeled off; but if the stag about to be hunted was still "in velvet," then the bark was left on the switches.

V

Harbouring a stag was still a most difficult and intricate job, and it was often a lengthy performance—even as "tufting" still is on Exmoor, but intensely interesting to those who understand the intricacies of the sport. Directly the "rightful hart" had been properly *detourné*, or "moved," by the *connaisseur*, the Chief Veneur blew his horn and called up the main body of the pack, or *meute d'attaque*, which had been led behind within sound of a call and were laid on the line at the *lit du cerf*. In the distance



Finding the slot (Du Fouilloux).

the old *Tahillaut! Tahillaut!* proclaimed a view. King Charles much preferred to take his stag with the *meute d'attaque*, in his time always consisting of the best and youngest and fastest hounds. The *picquers* had to ride to keep hounds in sight, never closer than fifty paces to the pack.

The most experienced *picquers* are referred to by the King as *connaisseurs*; they followed the hunt, never getting over the line, ready to stop hounds

from "a change"—hunted deer constantly putting up fresh ones—being careful not to over-ride in case the tired stag doubled back. They had the same duties as our whippers-in, watching if hounds divide, putting the young hounds on to the old ones, the latter being more likely to be right. At a check, *en default*, they blew the *apel-de-requête*, and must "watch the old tried hounds, and if one opens hasten to him to see if there is a slot of the right stag"—which, of course, any *connaisseur*

would recognise immediately. If "in the right," then the rest of the pack would be holloaed on with loud cries of: "*Voici aller ! Il dit vrai !*" and the appropriate blowing of the horns, the other *picquers* turning hounds to him, and leaving *brisées*, or broken twigs, as a sign to belated followers to show what had happened and the *releve de default*—a most convenient custom, alas, lacking to-day !

In his Elegy on the death of Charles IX Ronsard wrote of the King that he :

"Aima chiens et chevaux, cognoisseurs et coureurs,
Et de meute et d'aboïs par brusque violence
Des forêts et des cerfs resuciller le silence."

Du Fouilloux complains that in his day there were so many people often trying "to ride the hart so that one can say it is the horse that counts, not the hounds." Other faults of the "followers" of the time were those usual to "fields" ever since—over-riding hounds, getting over the line, talking too much and one confined to that age—too much blowing of horns. Charles IX was likely to have been impatient and a jealous rider, preferring hounds to come to him regardless of whether the stag was the hunted one or a "change"; he was proud of his skill on the long metal horn. He was very keen and seems to have striven all the time for speed; probably being inclined to make hounds wild, "encouraging" when he ought to have remained silent though genuinely keen on hound-work, as has always been typical of the best French *veneurs*.¹

Du Fouilloux remarks "how few men know how to blow a horn and speak hound language as the ancients did; few people really take an interest in hound-work, caring only to be up at the death and the please the Master." He advised that hounds should be encouraged by the voice rather than by the horn; the horn should be blown: *Toot! toot! toot!* or *du grêle*—"rattling like hail," i.e. doubled—when hounds were running well together. A *picquer* who viewed the hunted stag was to cry: "*Thia hillaud ! Thia hillaud !*"—"high and pleasant cries" being dedicated to hart-hunting, and "low angry" ones to boar-hunting.

The old *cornes* had been given up and all *veneurs* now carried, slung round them from their shoulders, the new type of long metal horns called *trompes*.

In the old days, and indeed up to the time that du Fouilloux wrote his book, it had been customary that if hounds "were at fault" the prickers or *picquers* were supposed to stop them and await the Chief Veneur or the *connaisseur* with his liam hound,

¹ To this day French-bred hounds have excellent noses, but unless they have been largely crossed with English hounds, are relatively slow and lack the drive, courage and stamina of the typical English foxhound

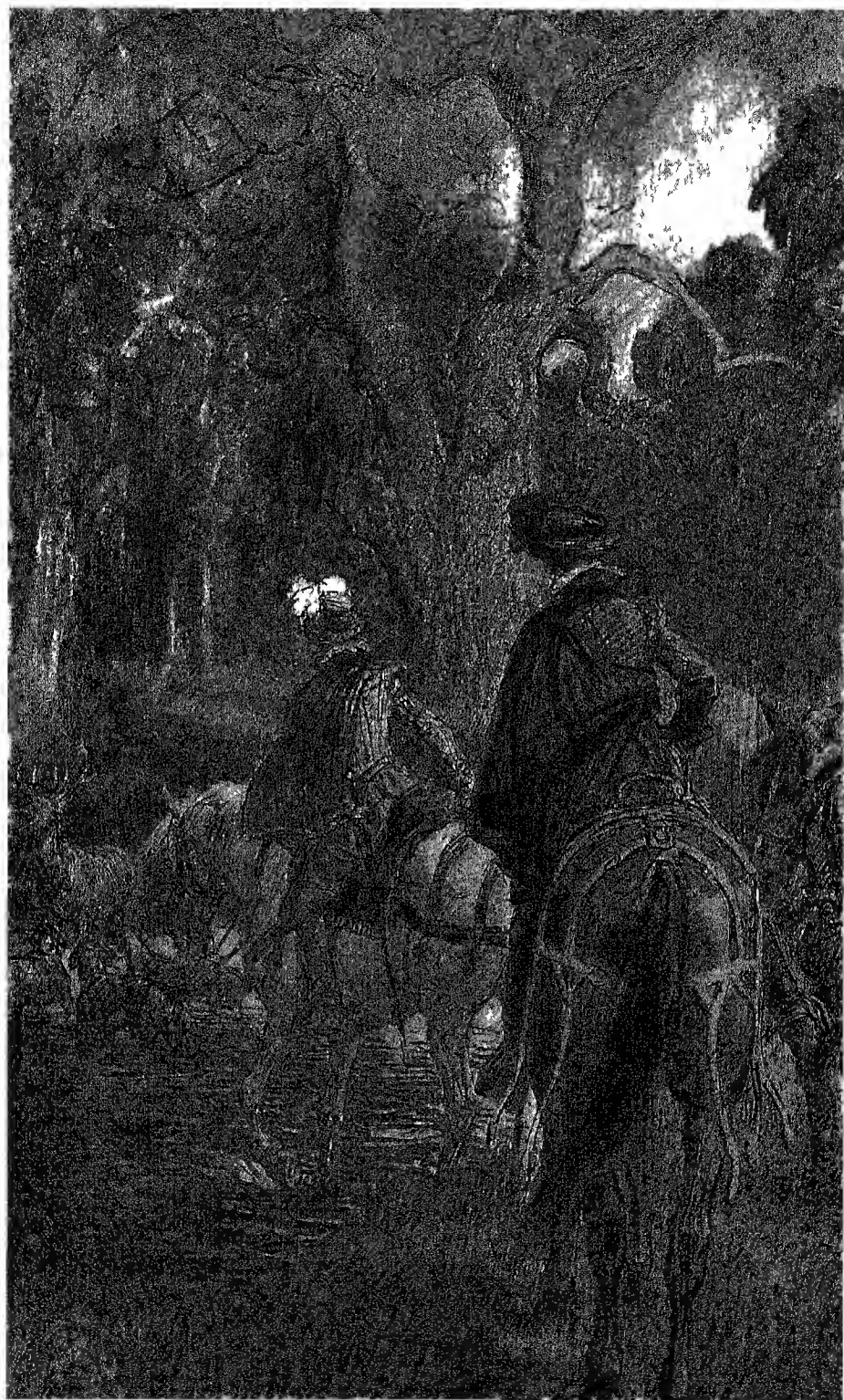
who always followed on down-wind of the hunt. Charles IX says that he initiated the completely new idea that to be "good huntsmen" the qualities of *picquer* and *connaisseur* must be combined—that is to say, "never to lose sight of hounds when they are hunting and to be well enough versed in the knowledge of a stag to put them right. This elimination of the time-honoured custom of waiting for the lymere to regain the line must have speeded up matters considerably, and again probably was only made possible by better hounds, keeping them in better condition, and also, no doubt, to obtaining better horses from Spain and Italy. Du Fouilloux advised halting to rest hounds in the heat of the day—even if in the middle of a hunt.¹

If hounds divided, on being got together again the *picquers* blew their horns, crying: "*Voici cy fuyant*," and encouraged the hounds by name, such as: *Ha! Cleraud! Ha! Mirault! Écoute a lui. Tirez a lui*. If hounds ran across a bad scenting piece of ground—"the sort of place a stag might cross, the *picquers* will note well which angle he entered by and hold hounds on in that direction to unfoiled ground and cast them round." This was all very new and marked a completely fresh era in hunting. *Picquers* were virtually hunt-servants, but the exact ratio of huntsman, whippers-in and kennel-man had still to be worked out. It was now essential that they be professionals, they must know each hound and his character. Should a *picquer* see three couple of hounds on the line of a tired stag it was his responsibility whether to stop them or blow his horn for the rest of the pack and the company to come on. None but an expert could be certain to do the right thing; many of the Court hangers-on were "new people," not brought up to "such hunting."

The real test came when the stag "took soil"—or refuge in water, sometimes "doubling back, swimming or wading up or down a stream, or even sinking himself in a deep hole under a tree with only his nose and watchful eyes above water which does not hold scent; then the *picquers* must follow the hounds and ride to get a view or perhaps put off in a boat to seek him." If the stag stood at bay in water the first thing to do, du Fouilloux says, is "to get at the hounds and couple them up. . . . It is often difficult and dangerous to despatch him in water, men may have to swim, so his antlers must be caught with a thong of leather." At the *Abbois* the "Hallali" was blown by all the company present to announce the *prise* of a *grand cerf*.

They "must holloa for the sake of the others, blow the *Mort* on their horns and *houpper*." The latter was an old French word

¹ This I have seen done in Western Australia hunting an "Old man" kangaroo with a pack of beagles in the middle of the day. We all pulled up to let the little beggars have a breather and then on we went for another half-hour through the light scrub bush, then another rest and so on.



from *jopeye*, meaning to shout for joy; we still maintain the expression to-day in our "*Whoo Whoop!*" when hounds roll their fox over. It is also possible that the American idea of "making whoopee" has come down the Ages from the death of a hunted stag in France? So-called "American slang" is often pure Puritan English, and so why not occasionally a French term in memory of those to whom much of the continent once belonged?

When the King arrived on the scene the Chief Veneur, or he who had moved the stag, cut off the "slot" or right forefoot which he presented to His Majesty or the gentleman selected



Les honneurs du pied (Du Fouilloux).

by him. This ceremony was known as the *droits du pied* and is supposed to have owed its origin to the old feudal right known as *main morte*, when the lord had the right hand of any serf who had died brought to him as witness that the man really was dead! Later on, the first lady up was awarded *les honneurs du pied*. Thereafter the stag was dismembered in the approved style and given to those who had the "right" — off-side shoulder to the harbourer, near to the *picquers*, neck to the *valets-de-chiens*, two ribs to the Grand Veneur, haunches to the King, a piece of the chine to the *valet-de-limier*, and so on—the head belonging to the

hounds, with the *limier* getting first go at it by right, as well as the heart and brains. The *Curée* was performed to the time-honoured sounds of *Taillaut! Hallili, Hallili!* as of old, and much fine new "sonnerie" composed by the King on all the horns. Occasionally, and especially later on, the *curée* was reserved until hounds had returned to kennel at the end of the day—this was called the *curée froide* as opposed to the *curée chaude*—performed on the spot. Sometimes a small charcoal stove would be produced off a pannier pony and everyone would have a light meal with wine, bread and flour brought for the hounds.

The *curée froide* took place at night by torchlight in the great hall, the *valet-de-chien* in the middle of the hounds, keeping them back with a switch made of holly; all around the *veneurs*, horns

to lips at a given signal would "sonner, forhuer et resjouir le chiens qui sont là, tous aboyant, huilantes."

And so for at least three hundred years these customs for the most part have come down to us in Great Britain in the attenuated forms of modern fox-hunting, but much of the old ceremony—if not the pageantry—can be witnessed in the New Forest with the Buck Hounds or on Exmoor with the Devon and Somerset to-day—in spite of the charabancs at every Meet. All keen hunting people should make a point of having at least one day with each of these packs in order to experience something of the past.

VI

The later history of the Royal Hunt should just be noted briefly, because of the interchange of ideas between the Courts of St. Germain and St. James. The Bourbon kings of France who followed the Valois were all passionately fond of "the noble science." Henri de Navarre¹ hunted as he did everything—whole-heartedly. It is said that the sight of a stag crossing the river Arques, suggested to him as *gros veneur*, that there was here a favourable chance for his army to pass. They forded the river, and he was able to turn the flank of the opposing Duc de Mayenne, win the battle and found the way open to Paris, "so well worth a Mass."

From the reign of Henry IV dates the several departments controlling the various Royal Hunts, each with its staff of expert professionals. One cannot say for certain if the hounds of this period were fast or not, but they certainly did not lack those other important requisites—nose and stamina. The Duc d'Elbeuf as Grand Veneur, one of the greatest gentlemen at Court next to princes of the Blood, controlled the *équipage* for the Stag Hunt, comprising thirty-five couple of hounds and their attendants; the *Boar Hunt* with twenty; the *Toiles*, or Netters, with eighteen couple of *levriers*, or hart-hounds, six couple of greyhounds, and two couple of mastiffs; the *Wolf Hunt* with twenty-five wolf-hounds, four greyhounds and four mastiffs; and the *Beagles* with a pack of a dozen couples. Second horses came in fashion probably with Charles IX and certainly with Henry IV. A page of St. Simon invented the method of changing horses by leaping from one to another without putting foot to the ground—the way most hunt servants do to-day.

There is the well-known story how one day hunting the stag Henry IV left everyone else behind being a great *veneur* and the best mounted, and when night fell he found himself alone in

¹ Henri IV was brought up in Bearn under the care of his aunt, Susanne de Bourbon, daughter of the Dame de Beaujeu

unfamiliar country, miles from anywhere and quite lost with a very tired horse. Eventually he discovered a track leading to the cottage of a charcoal burner, where the King without telling who he was asked for a night's lodging for himself and horse which was readily granted by the owner to the best of his ability. The next morning the monarch, who had no money with him, asked the charcoal burner to show him the best way back to the Royal hunting-box in the forest, admitting that he was anxious to rejoin the Court. The charcoal burner agreed to accompany him if he might ride behind the King on his horse, to which the King agreed. As they neared the end of the strange journey *au pair* the charcoal burner began to ask questions about the great people at Court, particularly about the King whom he had never seen.

"And how shall I know His Majesty," he said, "from all the other grand gentlemen?"

"You will recognise the King because all the others will take off their hats to him," replied Henry of Navarre, and the remainder of the ride he told the delighted peasant stories of the Court. When they arrived, officials and courtiers rushed up, having had the fright of their lives as to what had happened to the King, searching for him all night. The charcoal-burner scanned the multitude, anxiously looking for the King. "His Majesty is here" he heard on every side and all heads were bared. Someone placed a bag of gold in his hand, the largest sum he had ever handled in his life, and he turned to the man who had slept in his bed; now smiling at him with his hat on his head.

"Sire," gasped the charcoal burner, "it is either you or I am the King!"

A big chestnut tree in Poitou is still shown as the tree under which, in the time of Henry IV, the *veneurs* held the *relais*. At Fontainebleau there is a set of seven pictures showing Henry IV hunting. He is said to have gone out hunting nearly every day of his life. L'Estoille says that among the ladies the passion for hunting was quite as strong as among the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in France. Almost always Gabrielle d'Estrées accompanied the King out hunting, riding astride and dressed completely in green.¹

Under his son and successor Louis XIII, all the Royal hounds—about seventy-five couple—followed His Majesty wherever he journeyed throughout France. We can read in the diary carefully kept by his tutor Jean Herod² exactly how as the young Dauphin

¹ "Henri IV aimait à se voir entourer à la chasse de ses amis, de ses maîtresses, et des plus belles dames de la cour." (*La Chasse à travers les Ages*.)

² Thus tutor Jean Herod is also credited with being the author of the first treatise on veterinary science called *Hippostologie*—no copy of which has, alas, been preserved, though the book is referred to by contemporaries,

he occupied his time. (*Journal de Jean Herodas sur l'enfance de la jeunesse de Louis XIII* (1601-1628). The diary is full of references to hunting; the earliest being when at the age of seven how Louis "was taken to the Forest by the Queen who had gone to see the hunt pass by . . . he saw the hunt five times and arrived at the death of the stag. Returning home at six o'clock for supper, he afterwards amused himself drawing with a pencil" A year later there is another entry: "Taken to the enclosures of Chartreux, he there hunted a fox, which he had had brought there, he being on horseback, booted and spurred,"—which sounds as if the small boy of eight had turned out a "bag man!" He was so fond of hunting that the tutor reports that one morning the King had to say that if the Dauphin did not do his lessons he would not be allowed to hunt!

August 28, 1609. . . . "He did no lessons to-day because his teacher had to go to Paris; booted, he went riding, to hunt the hare, with his own pack of beagles given him by the Prince of Wales and that M. de Vitry had brought from England." This referred to Prince Henry, that son of James I whose early death was a national calamity; here is a picture of his mother, Anne of Denmark, at Hampton Court with some beagles, possibly like those sent to the young Dauphin—who, on the assassination of his father, now became King.

The diary continues with references to hunting mixed up with details of going to Mass, saying good night to the Queen-Mother, playing tennis, flying a hawk at magpies, shooting crows and sparrows with a small arquebus, practising with a cross-bow, playing with lead soldiers, watching a Court ballet, dancing, and antteding ceremonies. For instance: March 15th "He ate little for dinner, being impatient to be off hunting in the wood of Vincennes; it was very bad weather, stormy with rain, sleet and wind; he was gay riding." A few days later at St. Germain, "He was wakened, whipped, studied and went to the Queen," who it seems "ordered him medicine, it being a wet day!" The Queen, Marie de Medici (niece of Catherine de Medici) was also very fond of hunting and during the minority of her son maintained the Royal Hunt on the same footing as in the time of her late husband. Du Sable says that she used to go out hunting followed by several other ladies riding, and accompanied by four or five hundred gentlemen.

A year after the death of his father, the nine-year-old King was writing to his sister: "Ma sœur je vous envoie deux pieds, l'un de loup et l'autre de louvre (she-wolf) que je pris hier à la chasse; je courrai apres dîner le cerf et j'espère qu'il sera malmené." In 1614 he is said to have hunted the stag for the first time in the forest for more than two hours, without a relay

of hounds, and he fished, hawked, shot partridges with an arquebus, dug out badgers and foxes, chased a fawn with his beagles in the Tuileries garden, shot a rabbit in the head with his little gun. One day "he arrived carrying a great hawk on his wrist, having the wind in his face and the rain on his back," and another day "he went into the courtyard, where he saw a present from the Queen of England; it was six horses and a pack of forty hounds."

At the age of ten he could "talk all through supper with the Royal huntsman, M. Martin, about his hounds, knew all their names, their good points, how the puppies were entered, talking like a knowledgeable grown man and using all the right terms of Vénérerie."

As he grew older Louis XIII hunted still more. A M. de Praslin wrote to de Sully from Fontainebleau:

"Depuis vous avoir laissé, je trouvai le roi chassant à la volerie, laquelle finie nous chassons aux loups, et pour la fin nous courûmes un cerf qui dura jusqu'à la nuit et nous fit l'honneur de nous accompagner trois ou quatre heures durant. Si le plaisir fut grand, la peine ne fut pas moindre; car après tout cela; il nous fallut faire retraite six grand lieues, tout mouillés que nous étions."

"8 March 1624. He went hunting to Versailles, hunted and killed a fox, made the curée, next day hunted a stag, returned early and killed a fox." He was not always so very successful fox-hunting, for instance: "he went stag-hunting and wolf-hunting at Chantilly, killed two of each, and coursed a fox." He did not often kill a fox. "At five o'clock in the morning he rode out to hunt; unkennelled a fox himself with his limier—it was a new way he had invented."

August 4, 1626. "He arrived at —— soaked to the skin from a bad storm, which did not prevent him digging out a fox, which he killed." And so on.

All this is interesting because of the interchange of hounds, horses and ideas between the Courts of the Bourbons and the Stuarts—to which further reference will be made in the next chapter.¹ The later Bourbons were just as keen about hunting and their *équipages* are just as interesting, but from our point of view they do not seem to have influenced English ideas of hunting to the same important extent. Moreover, the ideas on the *Chasse Royale* did not change, remaining in France as inflexible as many of the other feudal customs which in England

¹ To the indignation of Salnove who found "French hounds best of all," there was a tendency dating from the time when Henri IV's daughter married Charles I, to exchange hounds, though Salnove admits that English hounds were more docile.

and elsewhere were crumbling before the ideas of a new Church, a New World and the fallibility of kings.

Louis XIII also reorganised wolf-hunting with his *grande louveterie*. The selected area of forest was surrounded by picked men—including musketeers, soldiers and archers, each fifty paces apart, *pistolets* at the ready. On a signal from the King, hounds were uncoupled and as soon as they began to give tongue, the riders discharged their pieces, and in the general fracas the animals fled and were caught in the nets laid for that purpose and run down by the great *levriers*. He also kept a pack of hounds for fox-hunting and had another composed of *chiens d'Ecosse* for the hare.

It was said that Louis XIII did not hunt with the spirit and courage of his father, but that "il y mit plus de reflexion et plus de science." Salnove wrote of him that "he made laws for hunting, regulated the times when it is useful to speak to hounds and when to blow the horn; he formed the language of hunting, making it more polite and less rough."

Louis XIII in his old age commenced building the vast Château of Versailles in order that he might hunt the great stags in the forest there in greater comfort. Louis XIV was a hunting man by tradition, but his theory of kingship and delight in ceremony and splendour, because they added radiance to his conception of centralised control, led him to put the *Venerie Royale* on a still more luxurious and ostentatious footing. He had a different *equipage* for hunting the stag, roebuck, fallow deer, hare, fox, wolf, wild boar, etc.; with magnificent officials, and a professional staff attached to each branch, with all their separate duties most carefully defined and regulated down to the smallest detail. In his time the Royal White Hounds of the Greffier breed were much faster than other French hounds and it was said they could bay their stag in twenty minutes. (Lord Ribblesdale.) Louis XIV's eldest son, the Grand Dauphin, was not encouraged to take a responsible part in State affairs, so keeping away from all but the exacting ceremonial of the most splendid Court in Europe, he concentrated his energies on wolf-hunting—Dangeau recording ninety-six such *grandes chasses* during the year 1686. Various other members of the Roi Soleil's family were distinguished in the hunting-field; the Duc de Berry died from a fall out hunting. Almost to the end of his life, when all the sweets of his great position seemed to have turned to dust and ashes through war, deaths and disasters, the aged Louis XIV continued to enjoy hunting, even driving out in a specially built light chaise to follow the Royal White Hounds hunting the stag through the forest of Versailles. Then the perfect *allées* or rides

were made still more perfect so that the King could get a view of the hunted stag and see his hounds, though no longer able to ride with them. At last came a sad day in 1709 when he gave orders to the Grand Veneur, the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld, "to slow down the *grand chiens blancs*." (Baron Dunoyer de Noirmont, *Histoire de la Chasse en France*.) The Papal Nuncio reported: "If I wrote to Rome that the King at seventy-two hunts the stag in his little *calèche*, that he can be seen in hot weather or cold, in rain or shine, surrounded by a hundred hounds and coming in sometimes absolutely drenched they would take me for a madman." (*Le Grand Roi et sa Cour*. Mde. St. René Taillandier). And M. de Dangeau described in his *Journal* the gig, or "light two-wheeled carriage, called a *soufflet* from the fact that the folding hood of *toil ciré* collapsed like a soufflet"—then a novelty. "The King always drove himself, he had also a little *calèche* with four horses that he drove himself with the help of one postillion." Three weeks before his death he was driving in the wood of Marly specially laid out with broad rides widened for the purpose—Dangeau reporting "ce jour là, le roi, qui menait sa voiture fut presque toujours à la queue des chiens." Louis XIV must have been a good man to hounds.

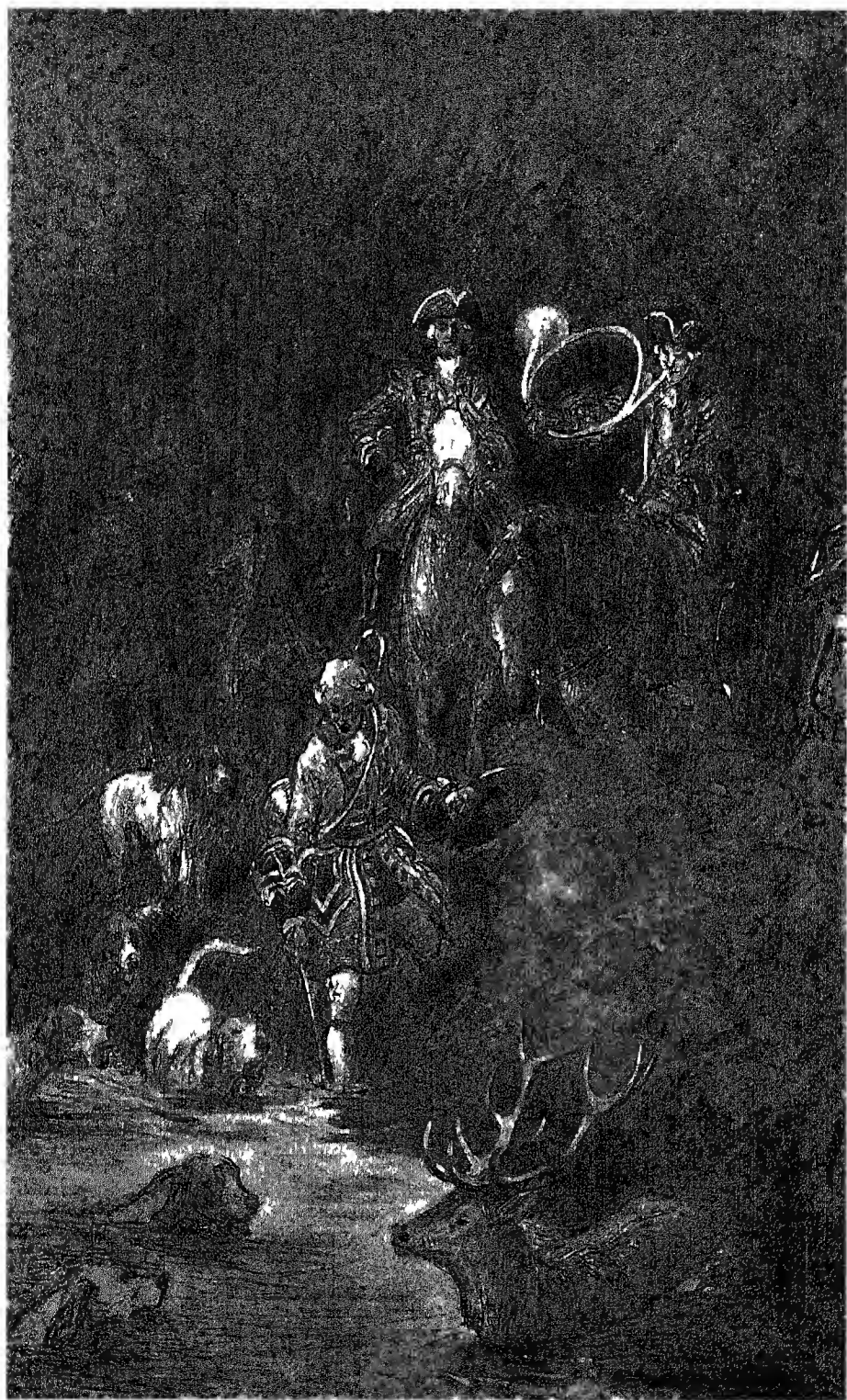
Louis XV selected St. Hubert's Day for his coronation in 1722 and stopped to hunt in the forest of Villers-Cotterets on his way back from the ceremony at Rheims. The young King's valet, François Mouret, whose duty it was to ride behind carrying a change of clothes for him out hunting, records that His Majesty hunted 276 days in the year 1725, being present at 362 kills and



Chien Vendéen, French staghound.

riding 3121 leagues. Between 1743 and 1767 the Royal Great Pack are said to have accounted for 2651 stags. Count E. Guy du Passage, writing in *Country Life*, December 8th, 1923, says: "The Great Pack of Louis XV consisted of forty to ninety couple of differently bred hounds—grey hounds of the old Norman breed, cross-bred hounds by English dogs out of Norman or Vendéen bitches, and English foxhounds. As time went on the King imported more and more English foxhounds to improve the pace"—a fact which opens up interesting theories, for which there is little space. It is fairly evident that at least from now

*Sounding Le Prise à l'Eau for Louis XV
(after an Oudry tapestry).*



onwards the common people connected the *Chasse Royale* with most of their troubles and crushing taxation.

It was during the reign of Louis XV that the great curled hunting-horns, *à la Dampierre*, appeared. It was said that their design was the immediate outcome of the fashionable hats with large brims of the period which made it almost impossible to blow the old horns. The Marquis de Dampierre composed various "fanfares" which became a most important part of the *Chasse-à-Courre*—such as *La Reine*, *La Discrete*, *La Dauphine*, and *La Royale*. The King himself composed *La Louyse Royale*, *La Folie*, *Le Chevreuil*, *Le Daim*, *L'eau*, *L'hallah* and *La Re traite*, which are still used in French hunting to-day.

The uniform of the Royal Hunt was very grand; a blue coat richly embroidered and laced with gold, lined with red, with silver buttons and scarlet velvet cuffs and collar, and scarlet waistcoat and breeches. The princes of the Blood Royal vied with each other in the splendour of their own *équipages* and liveries; the Duc d'Orléans had scarlet, blue and silver, the Prince de Condé fawn and amaranth, the Count de Toulouse red and gold.

As Grand Veneur to Louis XV, the Marquis de Dampierre's staff consisted of more than five hundred of the most noble names in France, each of whom were on duty for three months at a time. They controlled the *équipages* for the wild boar, the wolf, roebuck and stag—then known as the Great Hunt. Two hundred and fifty horses were allocated to the exclusive use of the service of the Great Pack alone; in all there was said to be stabling for two thousand hunters in the Great Stables of the King. Louis XV often bought English horses to carry him hunting; and in this connection it is interesting that a certain Alderman Parsons, an ex-Lord Mayor of London, very fond of hunting, who took his horse over to France and was honoured by an invitation to hunt with the King at Fontainebleau, was the first up at the death. (Lord Ribblesdale.)

Like his ancestors had done, Louis XV wished to commemorate his hunting and commissioned the famous Oudry to design and execute a magnificent series of tapestries, perhaps the finest in the world. Count E. Guy de Passage says that the King himself selected the scenes, watched the artist at work sketching from living models, spending whole days in the Kennels to obtain the correct details. The drawing on page 233, "The Abbeis," gives an idea of the design of one of the panels, which must be seen in Florence to appreciate to the full the beauty of the work and blue-green colouring. (Plate XVI)

Louis XVI was already feeling the approaching *deluge*; in 1787 he suppressed the Great Falconry establishment—including

all the staff, retrievers, pointers, etc., used for the *chasse* of any bird from the magpie to the quail, and he got rid of the Royal Wolf Hounds—wolves having retired by this date to far-distant places. The Court was now resident in or near Paris, and too impossibly cumbersome to go trailing around France, as in the days of the Valois kings.

With the Revolution, the *Chasse Royale* as such ceased to exist, together with the establishments of nearly all the *grands seigneurs*.



Chasse de Barras (French Revolution period).

The famous Baronne de Drack was one of the few permitted to hunt wolves on the territory of the Republic by a decree of the National Convention. But the Director Barras soon after the Terror collected the remnants of the *Chasse Royale* and issued invitations to the *merveilleuses* to come hunting with him—a drag!

Napoleon I revived all he could of the ancient glories of the *Chasse Royale*, caring little for hunting but much for appearances. It was said that the Imperial ladies "spent hours in discussing

the intricate details of what they should wear and what precedence they would adopt at the first Meet of the *Vénerie Imperiale*.¹ The Imperial hunting livery was green with gold lace and scarlet waistcoat, and heavy jack-boots; Marshal Berthier was *Grand Veneur*. Napoleon was no real *veneur*; he marvelled that Wellington allowed his officers to hunt during the campaign in the Peninsula, the English Commander-in-Chief enjoying it himself whenever possible.

At the Restoration of the monarchy the Royal Hunt was kept going in a modified form under Louis XVIII, chiefly with the aid of fresh drafts of foxhounds from England, and many princes endeavoured with a certain amount of success to revive stag-hunting as well as wild boar and wolf hunting in the provinces, the Duc de Bourbon's *équipage* or *Rallye* at Chantilly becoming famous.

Louis-Philippe suppressed the *Chasse Royale* in order to placate the people; but a humbug and politician, he got round his own regulations by permitting certain people—including members of his own family—to buy some of the hounds which they proceeded to hunt *à l'anglaise*. They dressed themselves in blue coats with a red collar, white breeches, hunting-caps and jack-boots; and their ill-success as *veneurs* brought them considerable ridicule.

The Second Empire reverted to green for stag-hunting. The famous La Trace, one of the greatest French huntsmen of all time, advised on the establishment, which hunted the forests of Compiègne, Rambouillet and Fontainebleau. Lord Ribblesdale describes hunting with these hounds in 1870 and again under Napoleon III. The Imperial hounds had become so much crossed with English foxhounds that the "true honourable blood of the ancient good *races* of French hounds" were then found only in the provinces. To-day a great deal of the old blood has been revived, such as by the Rallye Morvan, Rallye Bourgogne, La Besges and Pullys in Poitou, De l'Aigles in Valois, the De la Broises and Le Couteulx in Normandy, so that it can be truly said "*le beau deduict de vénerie en la belle forêt de France*" still survives, and is practised as scientifically as before.

¹ M Ludwig describes how "after hours of deliberation it is possible to decide what colours the Empress and Highnesses must wear when they go out hunting."

CHAPTER IX

IN SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND

"And this is as much as I can presently call to remembrance either by reading or experience wherein I desire all such as are skillfull to bear with my boldnesse. . . ."

G. TURBERVILLE.

I

AFTER THE SPLENDOURS AND INORDINATE EXPENSE OF Royal hunting in France, the simplicity or rather rusticity of contemporary English hunting falls a little flat. But in the freshness of simplicity lies vitality.

Most of the pursuits and pastimes of the sixteenth century in England have disappeared with the Elizabethan countryside. The woodlands have been felled, and many open fields replaced by individual farms and enclosures, quite as foreign to Shakespeare as tarred roads and railway stations. What were once tracks across heather-clad or swampy wilds, the home of red deer and native hares and half-wild domestic animals as well as the marten, roe and wild cat, were now highways separated by new banks, walls and hedgerows for cultivated fields. Only natural landmarks remain—beacon hill-tops, "ash copses," "high groves," pack-horse bridges, cross-roads, attenuated commons and green woods. Probably the majority of village churches (or part of them), some of the manor houses, all the castles, and the sites of fords, smithies and inns on the high roads remain to-day as they were in Elizabethan times.

If we want to realise in some degree the England of three hundred and fifty years ago we can go westwards to Exmoor where cultivation has ever been restricted to the lower slopes and bottoms and there are still vast tracts of unenclosed moorlands, the home of wild red deer and nearly as wild ponies, where old customs, old speech and old ways still linger and the hart is hunted by the Devon and Somerset Staghounds as he was hunted throughout Northern Europe long before Elizabeth was Queen. Moreover, if you have read with appreciation Turberville's *Book of Hunting*—the popular classic of four hundred years ago—you will enjoy your day's hunting on Exmoor, despite a hundred cars at the Meet! You will see the stag hunted much according to

those authorities on Venerie quoted in the previous chapter, with the difference that it is the "harbourer," not the lymer, who goes forth in the early morning to track the deer, and that the selected stag is "singled" by tuflers—two or three couple of the steadiest old hounds in the pack—instead of by a specially bred and trained liam. But though we can see a deer hunted on Exmoor to-day much as it was hunted in some parts of England in the time of Shakespeare, we do not, I think, see the manner in which Queen Elizabeth herself hunted. There were many reasons for this and the first were social and economic; the Tudors were ever politicians.

No longer now was the leading class in England a feudal or military oligarchy. The Abbots were gone and the independent feudal power of the great nobles had gone, while much of their vast possessions had passed on one pretext or another under Royal control; and the Wars of the Roses had drastically pruned the best and most promising young sprigs of the noble families with the worst. The old powerful families of Beauforts, Staffords, Nevils, Percys, Talbots, Courtnays, De Veres, Cliffords, Hungerfords, Bouchiers, Welles, Howards, Devereuxs, Herberts, Tiptofts, Bonvilles, Hastings, Biocas, were practically wiped out. Henry VII could find only twenty-eight temporal peers to summon to his first Parliament; even Heraldry was debased, and spurious coats-of-arms adopted by "new people." The remaining landed gentry and the new squires were no longer a military caste; when civil war broke out in 1642 they had to be taught soldiering from the beginning. "In Tudor England the 'gentleman' was a landowner who could show a coat-of-arms, and who had the right when he wished it to wear a rapier and to challenge to a duel any other gentleman from the rank of Duke downwards." (G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*.)

There were definite gradations of wealth and rank in this upper class; there was nothing to prevent a wide range of persons from "going up" or coming down. At the top of the social ladder was the great noble of the old feudal baronage and Royal servants of recent creation, keeping up the traditions of semi-regal state in their castles of Plantagenet stone or palaces of Tudor brick. At the bottom of the scale of gentry was the small squire who farmed his few paternal acres, talked in local dialect with his yeoman neighbours as they rode together to market and brought up with the help of his wife and the village schoolmaster a dozen sturdy ragged lads and lasses who tumbled about together in the orchard round his "hall," a modest farmstead not seldom converted by posterity into a barn. Into this upper class yeomen and merchants continually found entrance through marriages and the purchase of lands, and out of it often passed young

sons into trade, manufacture professions and service abroad. Between the castle and the hall lay every variety of Tudor and Stuart manor-house, built according to the local materials in stone, half timber or brick. These manor-houses and their inhabitants in touch with the old and the new kept the countryside in touch with central life and thought of the great world, rapidly expanding since Cabot cast anchor out of the ancient Port of Bristol or Raleigh turned all men's mind to ideas of adventure overseas.

The Middle Ages had been the period of church and castle building to the comparative neglect of the ordinary dwelling. The Age of the Tudors brought the mansion to perfection, originated by such nobles as that prince of the Welsh marches, Lord Worcester, afterwards the Great Marquis, who converted Raglan Castle into the most beautiful dwelling-house of its times, and Cardinal Wolsey, first servant of the Crown, who designed Hampton Court—down to the gabled farm-houses we so admire to-day.

All this was really the result of the cloth trade and enclosures. In ancient times rough tweeds, etc., had been made in England, while most of the best-quality wool had been exported to the Continent, but under Edward III and his able Queen, Philippa of Hainault, asylum had been given to Flemish weaver refugees—the French feudal nobility being constantly at war with the burgher element of Ghent and other cities. They taught weaving to the English. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries weaving colonies sprang up all over England—particularly in regions favourable to sheep—the Cotswolds, the dales of Yorkshire, the downs of Hampshire and Berkshire. Pack-horse trains carried fine wool from Lincolnshire to Yorkshire. London, Hull and Bristol despatched it overseas, sheep-owners and weavers put their money into sheep-land and better houses of the type we can see dotted over the “old grass counties” of England. All through the Wars of the Roses, through the changes of the first Tudor, the Reformation of his son, and the counter-reformation of his grand-daughter, and the glories of the reign of the Virgin Queen, and on into the Stuart period, enterprising weavers, sheep-owners and cloth dealers were spreading wealth among all classes. One chief advantage that England had over Spain in the New World was that we had good broad cloth to exchange for raw materials, while Spaniards had nothing to export but soldiers and priests.

With the scramble for sheep-lands came the “enclosures” of many of the open fields of the feudal village. At first waste land was taken in, fenced by someone with the necessary capital, reclaimed, stocked, and perhaps passed on. Soon it was found quicker and cheaper to buy out common lands. The paternal

Tudor Privy Council endeavoured to interfere, stopping the depopulation of the villages from enclosures, in the same way that a modern benevolent government tries to prevent litter, and "ribbon development," spoiling the country districts—with indifferent success. Likewise, the loss to the unfortunates in the community on the sudden suppression of the monasteries with their traditional relief to the poor and their, in many cases, excellent husbandry, caused much suffering.

Such economic movements, even in a slow-moving age, had their repercussions on English hunting, turning it from the industry of many to the sport of a few. First of all, the troubles of the Wars of the Roses and the loss of the right to feudal retainers turned many men to the Robin Hood life of the greenwood type in wastes and the more secluded parts of the Forests—who subsisted almost entirely on the game. Their descendants made themselves clearings and built houses. When Henry VII came to the throne in a troubled age, possession would be nine-tenths of the law; copyholders, freeholders, and more subtle distinctions passed with the minute organisation of the feudal manor.

Under the Plantagenets parks had been reserved for the highest prelates only, and even they were forbidden to hunt for sport, though they might do so for recreation—a subtle distinction much appealing to the consciences of the time. Churchmen great and small had owned rights of chase and warren. For instance, at the time of the Reformation the See of Norwich owned "thirteen parks well stocked with the game," while the Archbishop had twenty parks and chases attached to Canterbury. The scramble for Monastery lands satisfied a land-hungry class, and Churchmen as preservers of Chase and Warren now passed away. In many cases their "rights" and parks passed with the land to new owners.

All the waste land and parks were still nominally held from the Crown, but gone were the poor relations "the knightly and gentle keepers of the parks" to whom Queens like Margaret of Anjou and Philippa of Hainault had written letters still extant about the disposition of venison. Lodges and lodge-keepers had taken their place. Holingshead, writing in the sixteenth century, could deplore the waste of land devoted to parks, and consequent depopulation, owners still wanting more, affirming that "we have already too great store of people in England, and that youth, by marrying too soon, do nothing profit the country, but fill it full of beggars . . . a twentieth part of this realm is employed upon deer and conies already." The Northumberland Household Book of 1512, giving the details of the parks belonging to the great house of Percy, enumerates five thousand, five hundred and seventy-one head of deer in twenty-one parks situated in Northumberland,

Cumberland and Yorkshire; "the house" in winter consumed twenty-nine does and twenty bucks in summer. Towards the end of the century parks were declining in number, many chases had gone, bullocks and sheep were taking the place of deer. "Foreigners were surprised at the parks and orchards of the English." (Shirley's *Deer Parks*.)

Tradition dies hard in England; families such as Howard, Percy, Berkeley, Curzon, Lowther, and Somerset maintained their rights of chase in spite of politics—as they maintain them to the present day, when a spurious "park" can be made by merely putting chestnut paling round an open field. The largest of the old parks in the southern counties and Midlands belonged to the Crown by right of the Duchy of Lancaster—"a house ever famous in sport rather than self-seeking." Under the Tudors these were leased out to new families and those who had interest at Court. An Act of 1564 subjected persons breaking into an impaled park to three months' imprisonment, without the option of a fine; fines did not sufficiently deter later deer-stealers, as Lord Berkeley found.

We can to-day recognise the oldest parks and warrens as they were generally situated on the worst or waste lands of a manor, often some way from the dwelling. While game was abundant on waste land outside, men had not the same incentive to poach from preserves. By Elizabethan times waste land, as well as monastic land, had well-nigh disappeared and with it, of course, most of the game, formerly close to everyone's door. The newer parks were usually placed for convenience and safety close to the house and on good land.

Of such Royal parks in the county of Middlesex alone, in 1596, there were those of St. James', Hyde, Marylebone, Hamworth, Heston, Hampton Court (two), Enfield (two) and Twickenham. At Bushey Park part of old Hampton Court, there was a special park for hares made inside a brick wall.¹ It was becoming evident that only under such conditions was it possible for the Tudor sovereigns—or indeed anyone else—to enjoy any sort of hunting. Gone were the days when Plantagenet kings disappeared to hunt for weeks at a time in the Royal Forests of Rockingham, Leicester, Whittlebury or Salcey. Now the monarch must keep his or her finger on the pulse of the City of London, a horde of secretaries, officials and privy councillors must be catered for; moreover, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Rutland and Northamptonshire were among the most suitable sheep-grounds. It now paid the Crown to grant

¹ At Badminton to-day in the Park there is still an enclosure called The Hare Warren.

leases or gifts of Forest land, and to allow subjects to impale parks within the Forests and their ancient purlieus. The red deer had decreased before "the troubles"—beggar-men and the onslaught of sheep. It paid Queen Elizabeth, ever short of cash, to grant rights of chase to rich influential subjects and then invite herself to a "fortnight's entertainment"; lucky the noble who had not to keep her longer! The Queen got a holiday and saved her purse at the same time. The privilege was closely guarded and it was only by Royal licence, lasting down to the Civil Wars, that a deer park could be enclosed. A man could no more take to himself without lawful title the right to impale animals *fera natura* than he could assume a coat of arms, a barony, a manor or the estate of esquire.

Although warmth, clothing and food were more available to the Elizabethan village as a whole than to the mediæval manor, they were more lacking than in our day. A bad harvest still meant a shortage of food. Then the contents of park, stew-ponds, and the remaining waste-lands, woods and moors were invaluable to rich and poor. In the out-of-the-way and perhaps poorer districts, or more heavily wooded parts, the Royal Forests survived, though with their strict laws in most cases much relaxed. In them wild red deer survived as they have survived to our day, but deer and cultivation never have gone well together.

Time would come when the unwise Stuart—Charles I.—endeavoured to restore the full rigours of Forest Law, not for the purpose of preserving game to hunt himself, but as means of raising cash to meet current expenses without recourse to Parliament. The country would not have this; the alternative plan was Ship money, the excuse for Civil War. Starting by being a gentleman's necessity—a larder—a park had become a gentlemen's pleasure, and in England the State meddles with the pleasures of any of its people at its peril. Thus, for one reason or another, developed the typical English fashion for park-hunting, such as became chiefly popular in the latter days of Henry VII, and reached its zenith under Queen Elizabeth.

II

So the differences between economic conditions in France and England accounted for many of the differences in the Court hunting of the two countries. But over and above these the predilections of the Tudor sovereigns themselves accounted for other ideas of what constituted sport. Henry VIII in his magnificent youth was a great athlete and fond of hunting; the English term hunting still including the chase and capture of any wild animal or bird for food, in the sense that *La Chasse* in France

to-day still includes a Frenchman shooting blackbirds in the rhododendrons. When the King got too heavy to ride or run after hounds, or to hawk as he had delighted to do in his early days, he turned to that type of shooting "with stable and hart-hounds" which had been popular with English aristocracy in feudal days and described in *The Master of Game*. There was this difference, however, that the game was not driven in from surrounding woods and open lands, but for the most part confined much more conveniently in parks—the old and new—where it could always be found and could not escape. This suited fat men who could neither spare the time to go far afield, nor had the inclination to risk a blank day. Henry's latter-day nature undoubtedly enjoyed the shedding of blood. The long-bow was too difficult a weapon; the Tudors preferred a cross-bow, especially the new strong type, made of steel, impervious to bad weather, and which could be strung ready for them by "loaders"

Red and fallow deer were thus kept enclosed, and what the Tudor Court liked was every now and then to organise a great "hunt," the deer being coursed around the park by hart-hounds and greyhounds, while ladies and gentlemen carefully concealed in likely places or on specially built stands called "pavilions," placed at known vantage points well out of any danger, aimed at them with bolts from cross-bows. (A "pavilion" dating back to Elizabethan times can still be seen in Sherborne Park.) The best "shots," among whom King Henry and the Virgin Queen undoubtedly could be classed, seldom missed; they killed their deer with a bolt through head or throat as cleanly as a good modern "gun" kills a pheasant. The hart-hounds were trained to catch wounded deer by the ear, pull them down and hold them¹ until someone could come up and cut the deer's throats with a sword. Bad shots wounded deer, missed altogether or hit the greyhounds that were trained to course the deer past the stands or to turn them in the required direction.

This sort of "hunt" contained the worst elements of sport—like a "colossal shoot" to-day—but probably in Tudor England the main object was to fill the larder. It was not easy to hear of the unexpected and honoured guests, hospitality was the rule, and the park represented a convenient larder where the guests might be entertained as well as fed. No doubt in winter a fat buck was a welcome change to salted beef or mutton, and it was well to know where you could catch your meat instead of having to harbour and single your beast with all the niceties worked out

¹ This sort of hunt, coursing deer with hart-hounds, was continued at Eridge Park until 1914 (when venison was required). The deer-hounds used being probably descendants of the old breed and trained to catch deer by the ear.

by a hunting-mad French King, who preferred the cry of hounds to his Council Chamber.

In Turbervile's first edition of the *Book on Hunting* (1576) there are three original woodcuts of Queen Elizabeth stag-hunting, showing the Queen "Receiving the Harboureer's Report," "At the Hunt Breakfast," and "Taking Assay"—the remaining illustrations being copies of the French original. "Taking Assay" was an entirely English practice, and meant taking the measure of, or testing the depth of fat or grease, on the death of a stag.

Turbervile notes that in England it was "the custom to cut off



"The Harboureer's Report" from G. Turbervile's "*Book on Hunting*" (1576).

the deer's head after taking the assay," adding "this is commonly done also by the chief personage, for they take delight to cut off his head with their wood knives, skaynes, or swords to try their edge and the goodness or strength of their arm." After which the antlers were cut off in the correct fashion and if good enough kept to hang on the wall. In France "taking assay" was unknown; presentation of the foot and the rewarding of hounds taking its place.

It seems fairly evident that Queen Elizabeth did not hunt the hart in the open after the French fashion, though many of the parks were big enough to afford good sport with buck

hounds. For instance, Queen Elizabeth was staying at Cowdray in 1591; she witnessed sixteen bucks having "fair law," pulled down by greyhounds. It is related how a bower was built in the Park for the Queen, a silver-mounted cross-bow was presented to her by a local damsel dressed as a nymph, "with a sweet song" after the true Elizabethan tradition; "whercafter Her Majesty killed three or four buck and Lady Kildare one." On other occasions the Queen shot much better; at the Wortley Park in Gloucestershire belonging to Lord Berkeley, she and Lord Leicester had a day's hunting in the absence of the owner and killed "twenty-seven prime stags" to the latter's extreme annoyance, nets being used on this occasion to assist in the slaughter.

Queen Elizabeth taking Assay
(after G. Turbervile).



Contemporary writers affirm that Queen Elizabeth, "her father's man-minded off-set rose to chase the deer at five." Anyhow at Windsor she "had sixty parks, which are full of game of various kinds, and they are so contiguous that in order to have a glorious and Royal sport the animals can be driven out of one enclosure into another and so on ; all which enclosures are encompassed by fences," wrote M. Rathgeb, Secretary to the Duke of Württemberg (1592). And in describing a "capital day's sport" with his master he continues : "In the first enclosure His Highness shot off the leg of a fallow deer and the dog soon after caught the animal. In the second they chased a stag for a long time backwards and forwards with particularly good hounds over an extensive and delightful plain ; at length His Highness shot him in front with an English cross-bow and this deer the dogs finally worried and caught. In the third the greyhounds chased a deer but much too soon, for they caught it directly. . . . The next day, August 21 . . . he shot two fallow deer, one with an arquebus or gun, and the other with an English cross-bow ; the latter deer we were obliged to follow a very long while, till at length an unleashed track—or bloodhound as they are called—by its wonderful quality and peculiar nature singled out the deer from several hundred others and pursued it so long, till at last the wounded deer was found on one side of a brook and the dog, quite exhausted, on the other."

We do not find many contemporary descriptions of English sport of Tudor days : probably it was so generally well known that English authors preferred to write of other things. (Many modern authors such as Philip Lindsay in *Here comes the King*, describe Tudor hunting in its most unpleasant aspect from to-day's point of view.) We have a contemporary account written by the French Ambassador, M. de Castelnau, to his master, Henri III, describing a day's "hunting" at Windsor which had been arranged for Queen Elizabeth by her Master of the Horse, Lord Leicester. "The Queen shot with her 'arblast' (or early gun) while greyhounds coursed herds of deer up and down great netted spaces and deer-hounds¹ (great *levriers*) bore great stags to the ground."

¹ Of deer-hounds, Lord Ribblesdale in his book the *Queen's Hounds* writes that "a breed of deer-hounds were long preserved at Godmersham and Eastwell in Kent, the strain of which went back to Elizabethan days. A good one always pinned the deer by the ear, a criterion of the purity of the strain. They were cream or fawn-coloured, with dusky muzzles, greyhound speed and half-greyhound, half-mastiff-like heads, long ridgy backs, loosely coupled, high on the leg and apt to be crooked—resembling boar-hounds in Snyder's and Velasquez's pictures." Charles IX received a present of some "great hounds" from Queen Elizabeth, referred to as "mastifs" or "dogues" and said to be "*de près d'un mètre de hauteur à l'épaule, un front aplati, d'une force prodigieuse*" and were used in France for killing wolves after the *levriers d'attache* les avaient coiffés (got them by the ear).

It is interesting to know what a Continental expert in Venerie thought of our way of hunting; a French Ambassador (the Marshal de Vieilleville) wrote home to Henry II:

"The English are not as skilled in taking the stag as they are in marine matters. . . . They took me to a great park full of fallow deer, where I mounted a Sardinian horse, richly caparisoned, and in company of forty or fifty lords and gentlemen we hunted and killed fifteen or twenty beasts. It amused me to see the English ride full tilt in this hunt, the hanger (short cutting sword) in their hand: and they could not have shouted louder had they been following an enemy after a hard-won victory."

This seems to have been the only type of sport for which the Court gallants were mounted—at that time. They rode to the park, but once there dismounted, and either ran on foot or stood at a stand for shooting. Was it possible that in England at this time there were few horses suitable as hunters?

The old Parks were always large and pleasant places, specially sited by lovers of Nature and wild life, with a clear stream running through them, sheltered places, with "lawndes"¹ or lawns of open grass, glades, great trees and shade such as deer love. I have in mind John of Gaunt's "old deer-park" near the ancient Royal manor of Kings Somborne in Hampshire, yew encircled, stretching from the chalk downs to the reed-beds of the river Test, and the "old park" of Eastnor Castle on Midsomer Hill on the Malverns in Herefordshire—nearly the oldest part of England and really the last remains of the traditional Malvern Chase.

The smaller parks contained mostly fallow deer, but in the larger ones there were red deer as well. For instance, in an account of deer-stealing from the "new park" at Berkeley Castle in 1628, mention is made of both fallow deer and red deer being taken by "deere-stealers with guns, cross-bows, gray-hounds, buckstalls and divers other engins."²

In the account of the trial of these ten deer-stealers, the fact of cross-bows being used added to the enormity of the offence. The great victories won by the long-bow had induced English Kings and generals to believe for ages that no weapon ever invented, or likely to be invented, could ever compete with it. Consequently, long-bowmen were retained in English armies long after 1540, when its effectiveness was seriously challenged.

¹ Lawnde Wood is still a well-known covert in the Cottesmore country.

² Incidentally the five men caught red-handed selling these deer in Bristol and Gloucester market were tried by the famous Court of the Star Chamber and, contrary to prevalent ideas that deer poaching was a savagely punished offence, they appear to have been merely fined.

by the arquebus or hand-gun. By 1570-80 the long-bow was hopelessly outclassed on the Continent, partly because Queen Elizabeth had kept out of foreign entanglements on land, consequently serious practice at the butts had been neglected for half a generation. There were no English long-bowmen of the mettle to cope with the hand-gun of the period. Bishop Latimer, in a famous sermon of 1549, bewailed the decline of the English long-bow and urged magistrates to enforce its compulsory practice. Foreigners naturally were pleased with this eclipse of the old English tall and strong long-bowmen, and hastened to equip themselves with the hand-gun, which unlike the long-bow required relatively little skill and no special strength to manipulate.

It was enacted during Henry VII's reign that the general public were not to use cross-bows, for the same reason that these easily manipulated weapons should not oust the long-bow. In 1536 this Act was repealed, and the use of cross-bows permitted, except in the King's Parks and Forests. In the following year (1537) the Act against cross-bows was again strictly enforced, and all manner of hand-guns were also barred to all except those licensed to carry them; the heron being particularly likely to be exterminated. Game birds were now rigorously "preserved" for those entitled to kill them.

Hunting in Royal Parks and the remaining Forests was still jealously preserved; poachers and deer-stealers were severely dealt with as shooting in the Royal Zoological Gardens would be to-day! Various Rangers still had the care of Forests and were appointed by the Sovereign: a certain Hugh Pollard being Queen Elizabeth's Ranger in 1598 on Exmoor—a Royal Forest since the Conquest—and kept a pack of stag-hounds at Simonsbath.

With James I's accession to the throne there came a change.¹ He was disgusted at the spectacle of Court Hunting and brought up himself in Scotland much more in harmony with the French Court's ideas about hunting than with the English, he immediately asked Henri IV—whose daughter Henrietta Maria was marrying his son Charles—to send him some of his best *veneurs* to teach the English how to hunt "in the French fashion." Thus came to us from the Continent, as has happened so often in our story, French Royal hounds and French Royal hunting customs, with

¹ Mary Queen of Scots was very fond of hunting and very dashing on a horse, so that she was once brushed off her saddle under a tree and nearly killed, as the English Ambassador wrote to Queen Elizabeth. Possibly after that she decided to ride pillion as there is an amusing contemporary sketch at the Bibliothèque Nationale of her in this position, on a horse probably seated behind her husband François II who reigned twenty months.

Tallyho and *Wo Whoop!* The Marquis de Vitry was sent over to England at once and after him several others.

The Marquis de Vitry was one of the most celebrated *veneurs* at the Court of Henri IV, being Chief of the *Vautrait*, Captain of the *vol-pour-milan*, Captain of the Hunt at Fontainebleau and Commandant of the *équipage* for roe-deer. When de Vitry returned to France several other well-known *veneurs* were sent to replace him at the Court of St. James—MM. de Beaumont, du Moustier, and Saint-Ravy—the latter remaining as permanent chief huntsman to the Queen. Desprez, Beaumont and Saint-Ravy are quoted by Claude Gauchet as among the most famous *veneurs* of the time. Several years later, Ligneville and Maricourt were able to report that "the English were well instructed with the rules of hare hunting and sufficiently with that of stag hunting"—proving that the instruction of the French *veneurs* had borne fruit.

This M. de Ligneville wrote *Muetes et Vénérerie*, a delightfully informative book on French hunting (1635)—in which by the way he pays tribute to the excellence of English hounds, particularly one called "Jewel," whom he took back with him to Lorraine. "Jewel" was a well-known hound name of the time. A certain Mr. Chamberlain (in 1613) tells a story "how the Queen Anne of Denmark shooting at a buck killed instead one of the king's most principal and special hounds, called 'Jewel.' On which the King stormed exceedingly, but after he knew who did it was soon pacified and with much kindness wished her not to be troubled with it and next day gave her a magnificent diamond worth two thousand pounds in remembrance of his poor dead dog."

In 1621 the Archbishop of Canterbury killed a park-keeper instead of a stag with a bolt from his cross-bow. When King James heard of the Archbishop's misfortune he remarked: "An angel might have miscarried in this way." The poor Archbishop had been ordered to take exercise by his doctor. A few of these sorts of accidents discouraged the use of such weapons. Possibly after these disastrous occurrences Queen Anne took to hunting with beagles; there is a delightful picture of her belonging to H.M. the King at Hampton Court, a horse in the background surrounded by beagles, probably of the same kind as were sent to the boy King Louis XIII.¹

In 1613 the Duke of Saxe Weimar was hunting with King James

"When they came to the hunting-ground the King, the Prince and His Highness also mounted on horseback; His Majesty had provided a fine palfrey for His Highness. The hunt generally comes off in this

¹ There is a picture at Hampton Court of Henry, Prince of Wales, with Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, buck-hunting; both are dressed in green.

way : the huntsmen remain on the spot where the game is to be found with twenty or thirty dogs , if the King fancies any in particular among the herd, he causes his pleasure to be signified to the huntsman, who forthwith proceeds to mark the place where the animal stood ; they then lead the dogs thither, which are taught to follow this one animal only, and accordingly away they run straight on his track only ; and even should there be forty or fifty deer together they do nothing to them, but chase only the one, and never give up till they have overtaken and brought it down. Meanwhile the King hurries incessantly after the dogs until they have caught the game. There is therefore no particular enjoyment in this sport. His Majesty, however, now and then uses long-bows and arrows and when he is disposed he shoots a deer. There are no large stags to be found in England but only fallow deer."

The latter was, of course, not quite true.

A few years later M. de Ligneville was able to write that " the speed and drive of English hounds was due to their being ridden to by gentry mounted on ' barbs ' and ' turks ' in condition." Previous to the Stuarts, it is doubtful if anywhere in England there were horses suitable for riding to hounds at any pace worth mentioning, the reason being that under the Tudors the " great horses " of Chivalry had ceased to be a necessity, fighting had taken place chiefly on sea, and infantry seemed more useful than cavalry.

King James was not physically fit for long, hard days—and he was not a good horseman, though knowledgeable about horses. And I feel that very largely his idea in introducing the French stag-hunting customs, was to enable him to ride out hunting, rather than run on foot after hounds in the park or stand unreportingly in pavilions to wait for driven deer—possibly, also, he was a poor shot. He did not care for falconry. It is said that Saint-Ravy also brought over red deer from France ; on one occasion importing forty or fifty from the Forest of Fontainebleau which M. de Maricourt says : " only the King of England himself hunted." One can imagine that this move was not very popular among his English subjects, representing as it did the " divine right of kings " rather than the democratic tendencies which made the Tudors so popular with the smaller country gentry !

III

But as Mr. Baillie-Grohman says in his delightful book *Sport in Art*, referring to accounts of Court hunting in the time of Elizabeth and James I : " We cannot even regard these as descriptions of the national type of sport, for about Royal pastimes there is ever something unnatural and artificial. It was of the sport pursued by the hard-riding country gentlemen and the

sport-loving yeomen of England and not that at which princes of the blood and their courtiers played, of which we should like to possess ampler records." Therefore a little book by Sir Thomas Cockayne,¹ *A Short Treatise on Hunting* (1591), is interesting especially as the knight shows no signs of familiarity with either du Fouilloux or Turberville. From it we gather that red deer were seldom hunted, hare-hunting in winter and buck-hunting in summer being the chief delight of the smaller country gentlemen of England. Sir Thomas hunted also the roe-deer, the now extinct wild cat, marten and the fox. With regard to the last-named, most hunting people of the day, whether French or English, still regarded fox-hunting as a digging operation with terriers, the Frenchman, du Fouilloux, even being funny and suggesting that a man going fox-hunting should load a cart with sufficient provisions, pasties and wine-bottles to last a day and night, and "a wench to keep him company if so minded." Turberville's English version suggests a similar type of badger-digging amusement, though minus the companion—an omission one might expect from an Englishman translating a French book for the use of his own countrymen (as is the manner to-day in translating French plays leaving out jokes, etc. of typical French sentiment!).

But Sir Thomas definitely hunted foxes above ground, sometimes by coursing them in the open between adjacent coverts or as cubs "three weeks before Bartholomew Day until the Feast of All Saints"—i.e. the present cub-hunting season. "As the old fox is too forcible a chase," he advised the young huntsman "to backe him into the covert again when hee offered to breake the same"—and no wonder when the followers were almost certainly on foot! He adds the most interesting information, "and this last I will give you of the flying of this chase, the author hereof hath killed a fox distant from the covert where he was found, fourteen miles aloft the ground with Hounds." Was this the first recorded "fourteen-mile point" with a fox, and was Sir Thomas riding or on foot? How they must have blown their horns at the death!

Likewise, from the entries in the account-books kept by a certain Elizabethan steward at Berkeley Castle, there seems reliable evidence that Lord Berkeley's hounds of those days occasionally hunted and killed a fox—for instance, there are entries: "March 3, 1594. To some labourers to help dig the fox 2/-; to 2 men that set beer at the castle and for walking the horses," which sound very much like the end of a good hunt to-day! And there is the interesting testimony of M. de Maricourt,

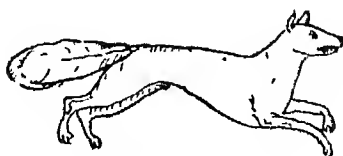
¹ Sir Thomas Cockayne was James I's "Keeper of the Hares" at Royston, including a circuit twelve miles round, and Keeper of Game at Thetford. (Sir Walter Gilbey, *Hounds in Old Days*.)

writing at this time with regard to English hounds: "Ils sont si peu questivs et si renardiers qu'on ne les en peut chastier; joint que les dicts chiens sont si laids étant tous hauts d'oreille et de si mauvais poil, qu'il n'y a nul plaisir à avoir des muettes composés de ces chiens."

Shakespeare knew that a fox was without the Law, a "crafty murderer,"

"And do not stand on quillies how to slay him,
Be it by guns, by snares, by subtlety,
Sleeping or waking 'tis no matter how
So he be dead"

(Henry VI)



The Fox (Du Fouilloux).

Contrary to popular conceptions there was no great plenty of foxes at that time in England. Holingshead, the Elizabethan who wrote as champion of the people's wrongs in his day, says of foxes:

"We have some, but no good store. Certes if I may freely say what I think, I suppose that foxes and badgers were rather preserved by gentlemen to hunt and have pastime withal at their own pleasure, than otherwise suffered to live as not able to be destroyed because of their great plenty. For such is the anxiety of them in England in comparison of the plenty that is seen in other countries, and so earnestly are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had been to bear this with the recreations of their superiors in their behalf, it could not otherwise have been chosen but that they should have been utterly destroyed by many years ago."

It seems that occasionally a great hart was discovered on some disgruntled tenant's land, feeding perhaps on his oats, and then the great idea became to drive the stranger into the park by means of hounds, well-placed beaters and nets—in this way hunting on your own land and at the same time changing the blood of your park deer. More often, the owner of the park, if not inclined to what must have been an arduous day in the saddle or on foot, would hunt a fat buck inside the park with a pack of hounds and without the aid of nets. This was not real "hunting *par force*" but the disuse of the *toiles*, or nets, marks the emerging of a true field sport from the purely utilitarian epoch of food-getting. Rabbits are occasionally taken in nets to-day—and poachers

still use them for taking game—but it was in Elizabethan days that in England nets were discontinued, and it seems that the idea came not from abroad or from the influence of the Court but was conceived by the country gentlemen among whom love of sport became the motive power with the instinct of hound and the craft of huntsman left unaided. Sometimes, the hunted buck had little chance, but one must remember that the Parks were often large, that a fallow buck has many "ruses" when he knows his own ground, and that it cannot have been easy to prevent hounds dividing or changing onto a fresh buck if their hunted one managed to rejoin the main herd.

Anyhow, in England hunting was developing definitely beyond the Feudal days, from the destruction of beasts of prey or the acquisition of food, to a love of the game. For instance, it is recorded that "in July, 1559, Henry, Lord Berkeley came with his wife and family to Caludon his house by Coventry, when the first work done was the sending of his buck-hounds from Yate in Gloucestershire; his hounds being come, away goeth he and his wife a progress of buck-hunting to the parks of Berkswell, Groby, Bradgate and Leicester Forest and others on this side of his house. After a small repose, then the parks of Kenilworth, Astley, Wedgnoek and others on the other side of his house; and this was the course of this lord more or less for thirty summers at least." (Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, 1821.)

At Berkeley Castle are preserved some of the account-books covering a period between 1559 and 1613, and recording the expenses of this Henry Lord Berkeley in connection with hunting and hawking. The books belonging to the twenty years from 1562 to 1582 are unfortunately missing, but there is ample material to prove that the ancient tradition that the Berkeley Hounds hunted from London to Gloucestershire is somewhat well founded. It seems that Lord Berkeley, whose residence then was chiefly Caludon House, near Coventry, travelled about all over England enjoying his favourite sport of buck-hunting in the Parks of various friends and relations. In addition to the details of shoeing horses, men's time carrying falcons, bringing hounds, etc., we get the names of each Park hunted in, thanks to the meticulous care of the Elizabethan steward (and to the researches of Captain G. O'Flynn, librarian to the present Earl of Berkeley¹). The old accounts show that Lord Berkeley took his buck-hounds to Parks as far apart as Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, thus covering most of the most famous hunting countries of modern times—

¹ It is an interesting fact that Berkeley Castle is probably the oldest residence in England—a castle commenced in the time of William the Conqueror—lived in up to the present time by the same family, succeeding in the male line only.

Quorn, Pytchley, Cottesmore, Whaddon, Duke of Beaufort's, Berkeley, V.W.H., etc. From the evidence of payments given to keepers at St. James' and "Maribone" Parks it seems that he also hunted on occasions in the heart of what is now the West End of London!

Another interesting fact from the entries is that a tip to park-keepers for finding a stag was 10/-, while the reward for a brace of buck roused was 12/-. Though evidently also keen on hare-hunting, falconry, shooting with a cross-bow, buck-hunting was Lord Berkeley's chief amusement, and he killed his last brace of buck with his hounds in his eightieth year in Sapperton Park, Gloucestershire, August 13th, 1613, dying in the following November.

In France hunting was developing on the lines of Custom and Tradition on elaborate lines, coupled with the enthusiasm of Kings and Queens and the most expert knowledge and science of the best men of the day; in England Court hunting was turning to slaughter and the instinct of the good "shot," while in the depth of the country Englishmen were "preserving beasts of the chase and breeding hounds and horses to hunt them."

IV

It is probable that every great house of England kept a pack of hounds and every small one a hound or two—much as was the custom three generations later in the American colonies on every homestead to keep away vermin and now and then provide a bit of sport—still prevailing in out-back farms in the U.S.A. to this day.

As every nobleman and most gentlemen kept hounds, one imagines that they were of all sorts; the English hounds of the day differed greatly in size and speed according to the type of country for which they were bred and hunted. We are not a very scientific nation, and the English develop best when able to do whatever seems best unto them. We read in the old books of northern, west-country and southern hounds. We know that "talbots" bred by the Talbot Earls of Shrewsbury were a famous Kennel and seem to have been derived from the same root source as the modern bloodhound, and perhaps crossed with Southern Hounds—remarkable for their great voices, their good noses and their perseverance on the line. There must be a good deal of Southern blood in the modern foxhound, but the pure-bred Southern has entirely disappeared. According to Ligneville the Northern hound was lighter built, faster and black and white in colour. Bassets are a very ancient breed and the black-and-tans in Ireland are reputed to go back to one of the oldest sources.

Talbots seem to have been "black tanned" and sometimes all white—the largest being considered the best. The long-haired or "shag-haired" hounds were always good finders "and therefore have huntsmen thought it not amiss to have one, or a couple, in every kennel."

A Doctor Caius, writing on *English Dogges* in 1575, describes the *Agasæus* or gazehound, which might be of a bull-terrier appearance: "He follows not with nose but with eye . . . he pursues fox or hare, selects from a herd the fattest and richest animal only, follows it up, finds it again if the view is lost, sees it return to the herd apart from all the rest and finally hunts it to death. . . . Horsemen use these more than footmen to the intent that they might provoke their horses to a swift gallop



Hounds in couples with the master and his huntsman leaving kennels (G. Turberville).

(wherewith they are more delighted than with the prey itself) and that they may accustom their horses to leap over hedges and ditches." It seems that already Englishmen and English horses were enjoying a quick thing across country! Was the *Agasæus* crossed with a French St. Hubert to evolve the Southern stag-hound, direct ancestor of foxhounds? Contrary to some opinions, the gazehound of that time was not to be confounded with either the greyhound proper or the Northern hound, both being described by Caius in different terms.

The Northern hound is referred to by Sir J. Cockayne (1591) and Gervaise Markham (1611) as "a light, nimble, swift, slender dog" bred chiefly in Yorkshire, Cumberland and Northumberland, and remarkable for "sharp high-pitched voices"—the strain all white or white with black spots being chiefly commended. Markham liked best the hounds all white with black ears, and a

black spot at the setting on of the stern. (Mr. Gervaise Markham was the son of a Nottinghamshire squire—a soldier, poet, playwright as well as a farmer and a sportsman.)

Markham also mentions the "large great dogs heavy and tall bred for the most part in the West counties of this land, also in Cheshire and Lancashire, and the 'middle sized dog' bred in Worcestershire"—showing marked local tendencies developed to suit local conditions.

M. de Ligneville wrote that "eighty harriers were sent by James I to the Duke of Lorraine about 1600 from Scotland," were "black and white hounds" . . . he himself having "one of the same breed which was brought from Scotland by the King at the time of his coronation." (*Meute et Venerie de Lièvre.*)

The Duke of Buckingham apparently bred a level pack of hounds for James I who wrote to thank him for "so fyne a kennell of young houndes. All of them runne together in a lumpe, both at sente and veue."

In Shakespeare's time hounds were divided into (1) blood-hounds or limers, (2) running hounds, (3) the beagle pure-bred. As Turbervile said: "Your pack of beagles hunt the hare as their proper quarry, but your kennel of hounds will indeed hunt any chase exceeding well, especially the hare, stag, buck, roe or other."

Mr. Madden, in his interesting *Diary of Master William Silence*, has proved definitely that Shakespeare knew all the fine points of hunting as practised among the country gentlemen of his day; for instance:

"Uncouple at the timorous flying hare,
Or at the fox, which lives by subtilty,
Or at the roc, which no encounter dare:
Pursue these fearful creatures o'er the downs,
And on thy well-breath'd horse keep with thy hounds."
(*Venus and Adonis.*)

And constantly a bit of Venerie is brought in to point a moral or adorn a tale; such as:

"There is no tarrying here;
The hart Achilles keeps thicket."
(*Troilus and Cressida.*)

—meaning that the sulking hero the Greeks failed to induce to leave his tent was like a stag whom no device could move. Consequently when Shakespeare tells us of the hounds we may be sure he writes of things he knew.

Most people know that the untravelled Shakespeare, describing the Woods of Sparta or any foreign country, described his own

Warwickshire Forest of Arden, as in delineating gentlemen he characterised his own contemporaries and country people, the Gloucestershire and Warwickshire worthies so well known to him ; his sports and games those of Elizabethan-Stuart England, the sentiment and speech that of his own times, and so, of course, in describing hounds, he is describing those of his own day—could they possibly be those belonging to that Thomas Earl of Berkeley, which must have been so well known in Shakespeare's part of England ?

“ My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind
 So flew'd, so sand'd and their heads are hung
 With ears that sweep away the morning dew,
 Crook knee'd and dewlapp'd like Thessalian bulls.

Slow in pursuit but match'd in mouth like bells,
 Each under each. A cry more tuneable
 Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn.”

Shakespeare was describing the hounds of Theseus, but they were undoubtedly the hounds of the Cotswolds of that time. Low set on ears, long and drooping, with heavy dewlaps like a bloodhound, wrinkled flews (like bloodhounds), sandy or “lemon-pie” in colour, with magnificent deep voices, are believed to have all been characteristics of the English Southern hound. And in *Country Contentments* (G. Markham) we read how “if you would have your kennell for sweetness of cry then you must compound it of some large dogs that have deep solemn mouths and are swift in spending, which must, as it were, bear the bass in the consort ; then a double number of roaring and loud ringing mouths, which must bear the counter tenor, then some hollow plain sweet mouths which must bear the mean or middle part. So with these three parts of musick you shall make your cry perfect ; and herein you shall observe that these hounds thus mixt, do run just and leaven together, and not hang off loose from one another, which is the vilest sight that may be.” The pack must have been slow as he also advocates “a couple or two small beagles, which as small trebles may warble amongst them : the cry will be a great deal the more sweet.” This must have been a difficult pack to breed as the author further counsels “swift and large deep mouthed dogs, slow middle siz'd dogs and the shortest legged slender dog,” in order to keep them together ! And in Sir Philip Sidney's *Curiana* (1606), “Endimion's Song and Tragedie, Containing all f hylosophie” includes these verses :

“ Light-footed Hare, a Game for Mighty Kings,
 At whose Pursute, the Faury Eccho sings,
 Redoubling twise, or thrise the merry soundes
 Of Hallowing Knight, shril borne and chaunting houndes.

The noble chaunting Hound with pleasing throat,
 With bace and treble, meane and tenor note,
 Warbling his voice, making the Horne to sound
 Orderly tunes t'immortalize the Hound."

They were all for cry. As Mr. D. H. Madden says in the *Diary of Master William Silence*: "What did it avail to have hounds bred for tenor, counter tenor, treble and bass, if they had hunted at force over the Cotswold Hills? And so it is that in illustrations of the period you see the huntsman and company furnished with poles and horns, pursuing a deer on foot in a manner possible only when he is hunted, not at force, but within the confines of a pale."¹

Country customs take a long time to die out in England. Very much later the *Spectator* (1711) makes fun of the country squire, "Sir Roger de Coverley," for returning a hound that had been sent to him as a present on the ground that the dog "was indeed a most excellent bass, but that at the present he only wanted a counter-tenor." We cannot get an exact idea of what the Elizabethan hounds looked like—contemporary pictures were too crude—Tudor sovereigns not being patrons of the Arts; and the word pictures were little better. Shakespeare's description of Theseus' hounds has been said with justice "might apply to anything from a dachshund upwards." All we can be sure of is that they were slow, had excellent noses and were bred for their cry. To an Elizabethan dilettante such as Theseus, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the pleasure of hunting was an æsthetic one, to get on some eminence within the park and listen to the cry of hounds, enhanced if possible by a natural echo.

We have referred to the conditions of Exmoor to-day, but Shakespearean hounds could not compete in dash or speed with the huge 25-inch foxhounds, drafts from the best kennels in England, which until a few years ago did duty as stag-hounds with the Devon and Somerset, and are used as buck-hounds in the New Forest to-day. Theseus' hounds "were slow in pursuit," but remember that if hounds were slow, horses in Elizabethan days were slow also, and as long as hart, hound and horse maintain due proportion in the hunter's mind good sport is the result and speed merely relative!

Cockayne and Turberville both agree that the best entering of hounds is at the hare, "as thereby they will learn all drolles, and

¹ These poles were used to aid in jumping ditches. Though there were probably few leapable hedges there were plenty of dram ditches as well as brooks. Strutt, in *English Country Pastimes*, tells us that in his youth Henry VIII was a wonderful runner and jumper with these hunting poles; on one occasion the pole broke, depositing H M into a very black and dirty water "at which he laughed exceedingly."

turnes as lykewise to know and to come to the hallow " In itself this practice is witness to the lack of drive and speed of the Elizabethan hound, for " the full-sized modern English foxhound would make a poor harrier, liable as he would be to overrun the scent." (W. R. Hallick.) It was a characteristic of Elizabethan hounds that they hunted any game they were started on.

With regard to hound language—Cockayne's "*Ware, ware that!*" Turbervile's "*Lyst hallow, hke hallow! hke!*" and the Master of Game's "*So ho, so ho!*" is little further from us than Shakespeare's "*Hey, Mountain hey! Silver, there it goes. Silver! Fury, Fury, there Tyrant, there! hark! hark!*" (*The Tempest*.)

We get the names of some hounds from Shakespeare: *Mountain, Fury* and *Tyrant* (in *The Tempest*), *Ringwood* (in *Merry Wives*)—names typical of running hounds from the time of Xenophon!

Sauter, truest hound (*Twelfth Night*), who will carry the line of a hunted deer, even though it be foiled by scents as rank as that of a fox is supposed to be by those who hunt hares. There was *Merri-man*, and *Clowder*—"the best" in the pack; *the deep mouth'd brach* (whose name we know not); *Echo*, "slow but sure"; and *Silver* and *Belman*, whose merits were discussed in *Taming of the Shrew*. Is it not a fact that anyone who can tell



Hare hunting (Du Fouilloux).

the hounds by name in the pack with which he hunts, if he is not the huntsman, generally knows a lot about hunting? Shakespeare was no exception to the rule. In his delightful book Mr D. H. Madden works out Shakespeare's hunting references and proves that they were all in keeping with the best sporting spirit of the day and must have been the result of personal observations and experience. In going through the accounts of the Elizabethan steward at Berkeley I was constantly put in mind of Shakespeare, and could not help hazarding if the entry "paid one shilling to a man that brought home *Gawdy* the brache," and again "for bringing back the yellow brache," was the original of "*Lady* the brache" mentioned in *Twelfth Night*! In the Berkeley papers there is a bitch, *Countess*, and a valuable dog-hound called *Ryngdale*. Once there is the entry "Feb 3, 1592, given to a poor man that had a lamb killed by my lord's hounds 2/-," which by the way was also the cost of a new pair of spurs and leathers in those happy hunting days!

One of those articles of agreement between the lord and tenants of the Berkeley estate to-day is the conditional walking of fox-hound puppies by tenants—a survival of a system at least four hundred years old.

V

In Elizabethan times hunting horns were carried by most of those present, though probably not so much used as in France by the general company—the country being neither so wooded nor so extensive.

Turberville echoes du Fouilloux that there were “many people who did not know how to blow a horn.” According to the Berkeley accounts horns were bought for the hunt-servants in London. In Shakespeare’s England these were still of the simple cow’s horn type, on which it was only possible to blow a single note; the various calls consisting of long and short “winds” or blowings. For instance, “To Draw from Covert to Covert” it was three *winds*, consisting of (1) two short notes, one long, two shorts; (2) one long and a short; (3) one long. While “for the death of a fox in Field or Covert” Sir Thomas Cockayne blew “Three notes, with three windes, the rechate upon the same with three windes, 1st winde = one long and five short, 2nd = one short and one long, 3rd = one long and one short.” Amateur huntsmen to-day will doubtless be glad to be relieved of this artistic performance! Something more like “The death of a Bucke with Hounds” is required of them: “Two long notes and the rechate.” The rechate being what we call “doubling the horn.”

Before leaving Shakespeare’s fascinating England reference must be made to the revival of Falconry, which under the Tudors reached its zenith, in the sense of general popularity among the country gentry, large and small alike. Further, regarding the accounts at Berkeley, in between mention of horns, a gilt bow, green velvet saddles, “riding tawney cloth” (orange yellow livery is still worn by the Berkeley hunt-servants), cross-bows, “a little piece” (or early gun), “12 ‘liams’ (or collars) bought in London,” are references to imping needles, lures, jesses, bells, hoods, gloves and other appurtenances of Falconry. Lord Berkeley evidently flew merlins, goshawks, hobbies and peregrines; the relative expenses being mixed with those of spaniels, greyhounds and hart-hounds.

Falconry established the love of a dash in the open—the main difference between the spirit of English fox-hunting and the French *chasse-à-courre*. Sixteenth and seventeenth century memoirs, letters and literature are full of references to flying at game with falcons and hawks.

It was indeed a fascinating sport ; and like all popular pastimes had a language of its own, to outsiders almost incomprehensible and dull as "shop" always is to the unknowledgeable—whether fishing, yachting, flying or hunting is under discussion.

Falconry was the golf and tennis of Tudor times, ladies indulged, and with young and old its popularity was tremendous. Everybody knew something of its finer points. Mr. D. H. Madden says that "in Shakespeare's England small Latin was not more fatal to the reputation of a scholar than was ignorance of the language of falconry to the character of a gentleman. It was borrowed by men of letters, and affected by men of fashion at one of the most interesting periods of our history." According to Ben Jonson, to "speak the hawking language" was affected by "those newer men who aped the manners of the older gentry." It was for the instruction of these that many treatises were published during later Tudor times—such, for instance, as the chapter on Hawking at the end of Turbervile's *Book of Hunting*.

Shakespeare was well versed in Falconry.

"A falcon towering in his pride of place
Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and kill'd."

(*Macbeth*.)

"I know her spirits are as coy and wild
As haggards of the rock."

(*Much Ado about Nothing*.)

We ought to know, and will enjoy knowing the meaning of such expressions. Chapter V explained that every hawk is not a falcon, although every falcon belongs to the hawk family. The falcon and her mate, the tiercel-gentle, were the most highly esteemed as the most beautiful on the wing and the most difficult to train, more especially so when captured wild and fully grown. The trouble in making a falcon of this kind was well repaid, the "haggard" (or falcon taken young from the nest) was never so satisfactory.

"If I do prove her haggard,
Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings,
I'd whistle her off, and let her down the wind,
To prey at fortune."

(*Othello*.)

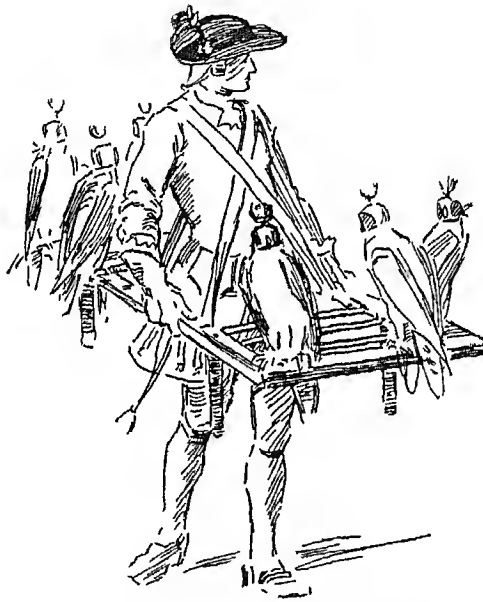
The French nobility preferred hawking with the goshawk and her tiercel, or even with the sparrow-hawk, rather than trouble with the vagaries of the peregrine falcon and her mate, the favourites of the best gentlemen in England. In Tudor times short-winged hawks were flown by any English yeoman, and in this way grew up a certain disparity between the two countries—in the same way as we to-day do not approve of the Frenchman

who calls the murder of larks shooting. In France no one beneath the estate of esquire was allowed to keep a hawk.

Falconry naturally declined from its position as the favourite field sport of England during the troubles of the Civil Wars, though Warburton, in *Lives of the Cavaliers*, says that Prince Rupert and other gentlemen of the King's temporary Court at Oxford used to fly at game between campaigns whenever possible ; and, of course, during the Commonwealth, with all other sports and pastimes, Falconry was frowned on by the Puritans. At the Restoration there was a brief revival of hawking as Charles II was fond of it and often flew his hawks on the open downs round Winchester—"the Royal Falconers wore scarlet coats." (A. Bryant's *Charles II.*) Finally, the increasing perfection of guns, together with hedged enclosures and trained retrievers, caused Falconry to go out of fashion. Although there has never been a time when hawks have not been flown in some part of the British Isles, Falconry is not now ranked among our national field sports. Dryden was the last poet who could speak the hawking language with the accuracy of Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare. Practically every author since, including Sir Walter Scott and even eminent lexicographers, refer to the falcon as "he," while her mate the tiercel-gentle is a bird completely unknown to any but a few ! Captain Knight's magnificent film of the life of an Eagle, and his success in training these birds, has no doubt given some of us to-day an insight into the difficulties and the science of Falconry, a sport which more than any other prepared the British yeoman-farmer for the sight of people riding over his stubble fields and banked and walled enclosures—an idea completely alien to the old traditions of Venerie, which, remember, tended to make hunting and shooting a private sport, a Royal one and confined it to privileged areas. Tudor hawking first broke away from that idea—the farmer with his own hawk probably joined the hawking party from the manor, rode as hard as any, and was as fair a judge of the merits of the lord's "new cast of tassels" as anyone out. In parts of Austria and Hungary you can still witness hawking in a manner similar to the times of our ancestors in Elizabethan-Stuart England ; and a few devoted falconers even keep alive the sport in modern England. I believe Lord Howard de Walden is the last in England to keep a professional falconer on his establishment.

How many hunting people to-day appreciate that the familiar description "hounds checked at ——" derives from the language of Falconry ? "Check, Check" being used when a hawk changed from its rightful prey to some other bird, crow or magpie. In Elizabethan hunting, hounds at a check was described as "the dogs are at fault." The man who carried the hawks and falcons

to the hunting ground was always known as the "cadger," from the big wooden structure or "cadge" on which the birds perched till they were wanted by the falconer; as, of course, it was not possible to use the same bird for more than a few flights. The cadger was probably some old retainer or follower of the sport—hence the origin of the modern word cadger, a hanger-on. You who to-day find a cadger holding your horse at the Meet, remember that he represents a profession older by far than fox-hunting, and do not grudge the token tossed to him by generations of sportsmen.



A Cadger or cadge-bearer (after Ridinger).

CHAPTER X

THE RIDING SCHOOLS OF EUROPE

*" But this gallant
Had witchcraft in 't ; he grew into his seat ;
And to such wondrous doing brought his horse,
As he had been incorps'd and demi-natur'd
With the brave beast ; so far he pass'd my thought,
That I, in forgery of shapes and tricks,
Come short of what he did."*

HAMLET.

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT FOX-HUNTING SUCH AS WE KNOW IT to-day could have developed without suitable horses. The production of the right stamp of horse was primarily due to the care given to Riding, which in the late sixteenth century started to be studied all over Europe as a Science and later on was practised as an Art by many of the leading intellects of the times. Interest in riding came first to stimulate interest in breeding what was virtually a new type of light horse in Europe.

It is perhaps difficult for us, living in this twentieth century, to appreciate the importance of the Riding School as it evolved in Europe between 1520 and 1670, and many nowadays still lump the *manège* and the protagonists of the Riding School with the Show ring and tricks of the circus as "of no use" to the ordinary rider. This might be true of the succeeding age—1700 to 1750—when *haute école* in France and Germany became a fashionable craze depending entirely on the manner of doing rather than with any sensible object in view—often the way when an old custom dies a lingering death. But in the period to which we now refer—the early seventeenth century—scientific School Riding was a necessary part of a young gentleman's education.

The new ideas first centred round making a man and horse into one quick, sharp, surprising agent of attack against other horsemen, but most particularly against the well-equipped, disciplined and well-nigh impregnable infantry of Charles V and his contemporary imitators in the Art of War.

Italians did not invent these ideas, though the first location of these new schools of riding was Italy—the most famous being in the vicinity of the port of Naples. During the long period of

history known as the Renaissance, Italy remained the fountain-head of all the New Learning. No doubt new ideas about riding and horses arrived, like better known novelties, sea-borne from Constantinople, where so much of the Ancient Learning had been preserved until its capture by the Turks scattered scholars and accumulated wisdom to the furthest corners of Europe—chiefly *via* Venice and Italy. In this way came ideas from as far afield as Cathay—China and India and Persia—where a particularly good type of horse and rider developed, as can still be seen in the beautiful miniatures, etc., belonging to that period in Persian Art, in which hunting scenes, horses, and sport of all kinds predominate. Mahomed had strictly forbidden the artistic portrayal of horses and hounds, knowing well the influence of such “idols” on his people; consequently, we have no representations of contemporary Saracen or Arabic horses and sporting customs. We only know for a fact that interest in these things never flagged in Arabia, Syria, Northern Africa, etc., all down the Ages. However, wherever the new ideas on riding came from—Persia, Constantinople, Egypt, or Barbary—they were eagerly assimilated by the receptive, critical, appreciative minds of the Italians of the early sixteenth century, and produced a vast and far-reaching Renaissance of horsemanship throughout Europe.

Always in history War has accelerated change and launched new ideas—for instance, the aeroplane in the Great War. Sixteenth-century Italy, consisting of a series of miniature states, was almost constantly at war in one way or another. When local troubles failed, there always seemed some rich patron—from the Pope and the Emperor downwards—to purchase their swordsmen; consequently, it was well worth perfecting the art of War for the sake of a livelihood, if not for life itself. We know of the perfection reached by the romantic-sounding Giovanni of the Black Bands, even of his English prototype Hawkwood of the Middle Ages. Genoese cross-bowmen were famous throughout Europe.

Europe, contemporary with the young demi-gods—Charles V, Francis I, Henry VIII—was ripe for a change. At the Battle of Pavia the Emperor’s disciplined infantry—Swiss, Spanish and Italian—accounted for the defeat of the flower of the amateur Chivalry of France. Giovanni of the famous Black Bands fell to a new-fangled bullet; firearms destroyed the immunity so long held by knightly men-at-arms, over-pressed by impossibly heavy armour. All this happened first in Italy. The new methods, as developed by the Italian School, lay in the direction of restoring mobility to man and horse. It is a matter of history how heavy cavalry gave place after a long reign to light archers, and these on the Continent to pikemen and cross-bowmen; in Italy, on the

more extensive use of firearms, the new type of light cavalrman, specially trained, came into prominence. Of course, this is only generally speaking, never did one branch completely extinguish the other—there were always uses for the mounted men, provided they could adapt themselves to circumstances.

The Italians were the first to discover that a quick and handy horse ridden by a "ready" man could turn and manœuvre out of harm's way while the clumsy gun was being loaded, aimed and reloaded and even at close quarters, if trained, a horseman could outwit his assailant—a surprise attack in the rear entirely disconcerting the gunners of the day whose armament did not traverse by any means like the modern machine-gun. The secret lay in the horseman disguising his movements so that the opposing gunner or arquebusier did not know what to expect and was unable to get his clumsy instrument aimed rightly or in time. For the first time in history horsemanship as opposed to merely "a strong seat on a horse" mattered. Every rider discovered this and went to Italy "to school."

I. THE ITALIAN SCHOOL

Thus came the importance of the Riding School to teach the "manage" of horses. So that a rider sitting calm, sword in one hand, reins in the other, by a slight movement of heel or bridle-hand conveyed something to his horse unseen by his opponent, causing the horse to dance aside, rear up, charge forward full tilt, stop, turn or pirouette almost on a sixpence, thus completely taking the enemy by surprise—ever the best method of offence.

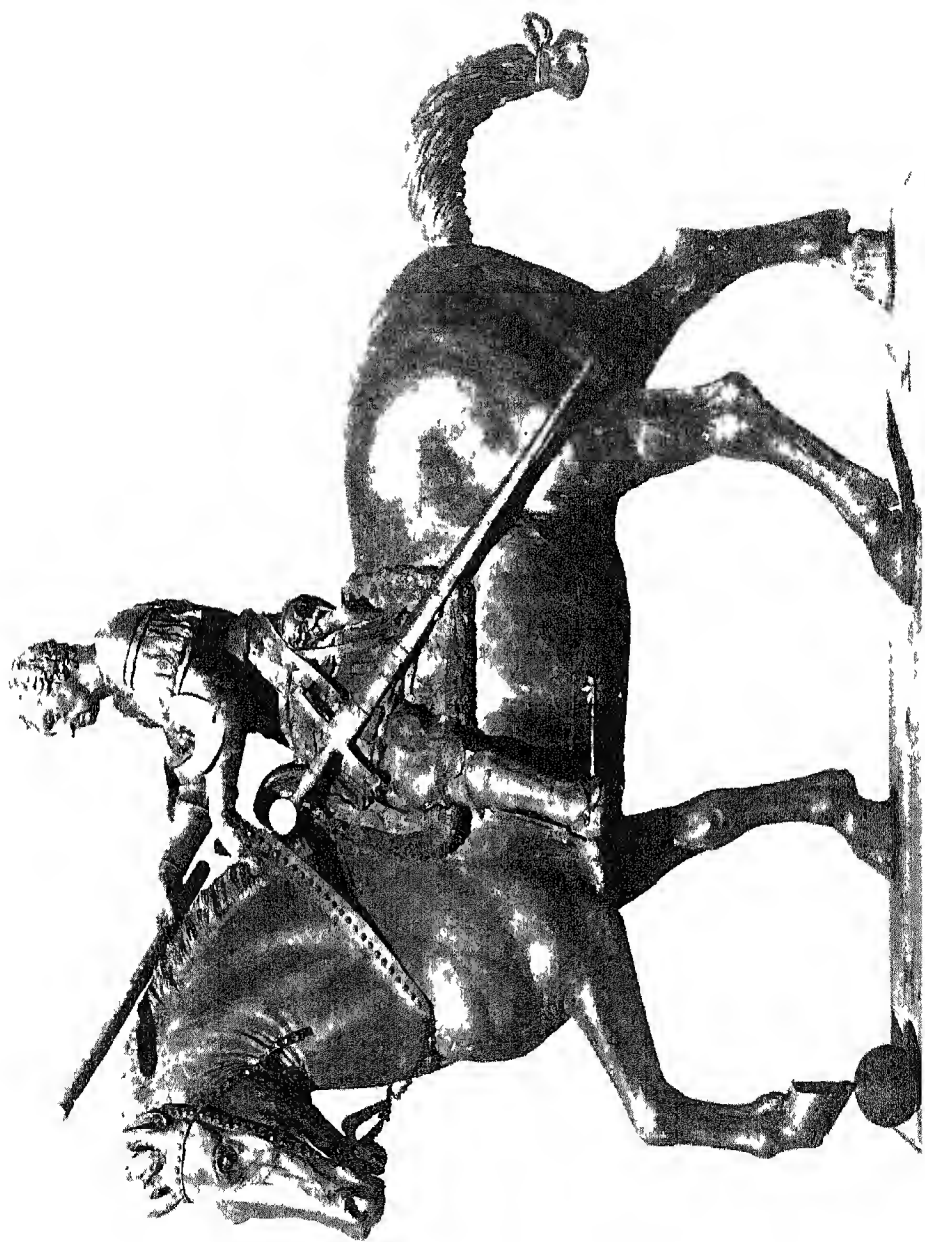
Quickly the Italian cavalry learnt to discard heavy armour and long, clumsy spears in favour of lighter equipment, swords, and horses capable of making quick dashes at the enemy, attacking unexpectedly with encircling movements, swift retreats, and even avoiding a pistol shot close in.

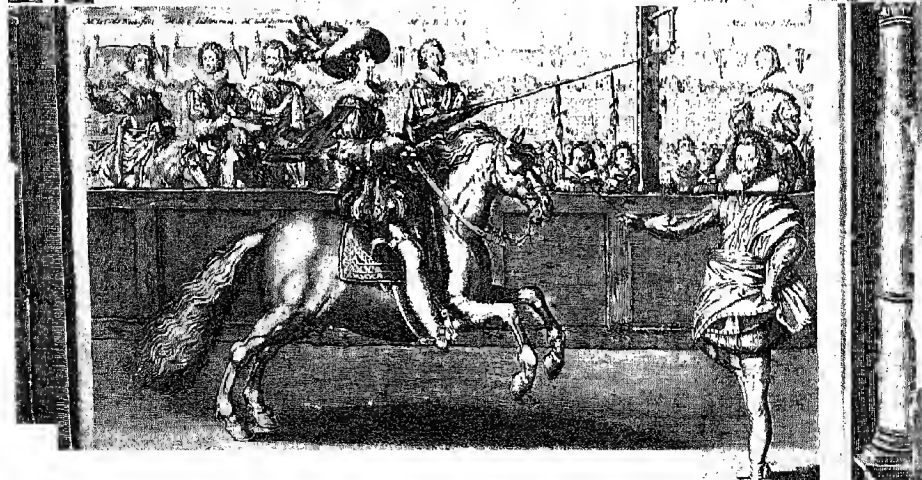
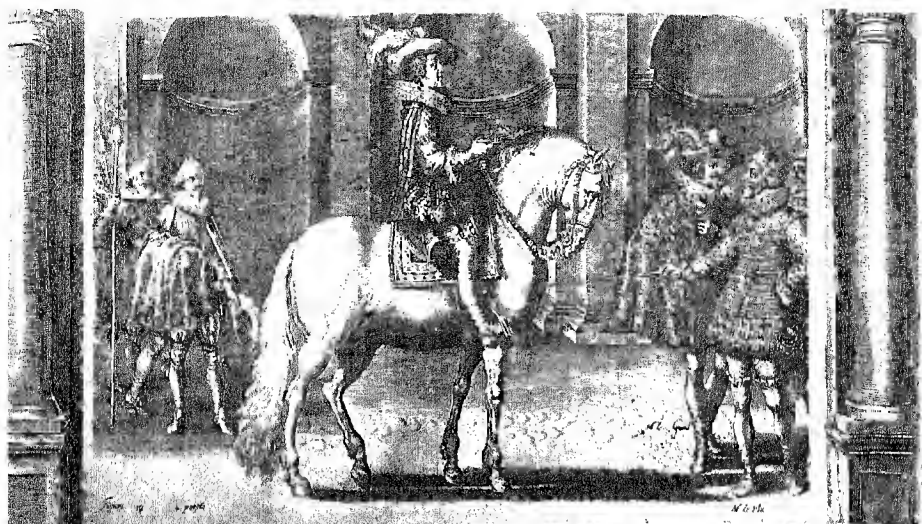
One of the most famous Riding Schools was that of Pignatelli, at Naples. The fees charged were well worth while. Young professional soldiers came from all over Europe to see and learn at these new Schools. Kings sent to ask for information and paid Italians to come and give demonstrations at their Courts. (Henry VIII had over certain Italian riders and saw them perform at Hampton Court.)

World-famous Italians like Count Baldassarc Castiglione made graceful, skilful riding the *culte* of Renaissance Italy. His Mantuan Palace had one room decorated with pictures of his horses—all with their names written above them, the first instance of individual horse portraiture known. Leonardo da Vinci was as well known in his day as a perfect horseman as an

*Horse and rider of Renaissance Italy
in bronze. General Gattamelata (by
Donatello, 1382-1466).*

(Photo Padua. R. B. Fleming & Co.)





artist and a scientist. His treatise on the *Proportions of a Horse* (preserved in the Library of H.M. the King at Windsor Castle) remain to-day the standard measurements of the horse, it is not often remembered that "hands" were the invention of Leonardo da Vinci. Donatello's head of a horse is one of the most beautiful things in the Naples Museum. See plate XVII for the magnificent bronze General Gattamelata by Donatello.

Another famous Italian School was run by Grisson, who wrote a book on Riding which was widely read and translated into various European languages. Grisson's book so much impressed Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester—Queen Elizabeth's favourite—that he advised a certain Mr. Blundevill to incorporate the new ideas in the book he was bringing out on Riding; thus Mr. Blundevill did and called it *The Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship*, a book which one often sees quoted. Lord Leicester was an excellent horseman himself and much profited from the teaching of the Italian School.

The Italian School of Riding tended to die out relatively soon after its meteoric rise, chiefly it seems because of internecine wars, loss of patrons, the dispersal abroad to richer Courts of the best riders and best horses. But in Italy there have always been certain people who have kept alive the ancient traditions of riding, the *élite* of the Italian cavalry officers have been famous for their superb horsemanship. To-day Italian officers are probably the best at International Horse Shows on the Continent—with their pronounced forward seat and exquisitely trained horses taught to jump in the freest possible style.

Spain and Italy in mediæval and Early Renaissance times had much in common, not only religious fervour, constant warfare and racial affinities, but also regarding proximity to Eastern culture from the Mediterranean.

II. THE SPANISH

The Spanish School of Riding had enormous influence on the Europe of the times, most particularly on account of its finely bred horses. Spanish ideas with regard to light horses developed on more practical lines than the Italian. The great Queen Isabella laid the foundations of horse-breeding as a science and an industry in Spain; her grandson the Emperor Charles V was one of the finest horsemen of his day, knowledgeable, and painstaking in all he undertook. International in outlook, with the best of things in Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Italy at his feet, he realised that Spanish horses, horsemen and ships were his most valuable assets. Spanish horses will be referred to in greater detail in the next chapter.

Louis XIII on "Bonise."

(Top picture) *Receiving a riding lesson from M. de Pluvinal.*

(Middle) *Practising the capriole on the "pillar." (Note the spaniel dog.)*

(Lower) *Tilting at the ring.*

"Le Manège Royale" M. de Pluvinal)

The Spanish School of Riding may have developed more slowly than in Italy and on less spectacular lines, but its accomplishments in the New World particularly, proved far ahead of anything in contemporary Europe and its influence remained longer than the traditions of the German, English or even French Schools. Perhaps the shrewd satire of Cervantes¹ accounted for the way, untypically Spanish, in which ancient traditions, equipment, and ideas were ruthlessly scrapped in adapting the new ideas. We can still enjoy watching the exercise of the Spanish School of Riding in Vienna as performed for over four hundred years; but we will enjoy it more if we first go back into history to discover its origins.

Good riding in Spain was nothing new, even in the sixteenth century. But remember that there were two Spains: (1) Gothic-Iberian Spain and (2) Moorish Spain. As already pointed out, many Eastern customs entered Europe during the Middle Ages by way of Moorish Spain. In fact, as Mr. W. T. Walsh writes in his delightful *Isabella of Spain*, "the society that the troubadours sang for—rich, artistic, devoted to the good things of this world—had many Asiatic characteristics, derived from both Moslem and Jew." Checked first by Charles Martel in France and then by the Crusaders in Palestine, the vast Saracen culture had spread to Europe via Southern France and Spain.

For full seven hundred years, right down in fact to the taking of Granada, by Ferdinand and Isabella, and the discovery of the New World, Spain had hardly ever known peace. Practically all the fighting was done on horseback, and thus the Spaniards of that age became a race of horsemen. The very word *caballero*, or gentleman, at first meant a horseman. As always happens in a long war, both sides learnt from the others; the Spanish Christians learning much about horses and riding from the Spanish Moors. As in the days of the Crusades, the Saracens had always ridden short, so did their Moorish descendants in Granada, and in time many Moorish customs permeated the whole of Spain. Eventually, it became the highest praise in Spain to call a good horseman "a man who could ride well in both saddles"—long or short.

When riding short, *à la gineta*, the high Moorish saddle was generally used—a version of which has come down to us in the high peaked Mexican saddle still used by cowboys in America to-day. This, of course, was introduced to that continent by those famous emigrants from Spain and Portugal the *Conquistadors*, the first horsemen of America. They also brought the "Mameluke bit," which had a high port and often long *branches*, or cheek-

¹ Don Quixote's "Rosinante" was intended as satire on the almost universal *culte* of the horse and the panoply of the armoured knight.

pieces. All the Moorish horses were "bitted on the neck," that is, a horse was taught to turn by pressure on the neck—"neck-reining" as we call it—instead of by pressure on the corners of the mouth as has been the common practice in England for many a day. With the Moorish bit went a single rein, and the rider held his bridle hand high—the raising of the hand pressing the high port into the roof of the horse's mouth. No doubt this was a cruel bit if used hard, but Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham considers that "a horse turned far more rapidly, and suffered less under this system, and turning was the first essential for a war-horse in those days." (Those of us who saw the Display given by the Egyptian Mounted Police at the International Horse Show at Olympia, 1934, will appreciate the Moorish seat on a North African horse) In course of time American cowboys have had to modify riding *à la gineta* to suit the conditions of their day. It is not possible to sit raw young horses riding short, nor is it a suitable seat for riding long distances; hence the modern cowboy seat is long, though his saddle, horse and equipment are reminiscent of the great days of Spain and Portugal. (*Horses of the Conquistadors*, R. B. Cunninghame Graham.)

When the Great Isabella's daughter Juana—who married Margaret of Austria's brother—arrived in the Netherlands, she surprised everyone of her own contemporaries by riding *à la gineta*. (She would surprise people to such an extent that she would be nicknamed "Crazy Jane"!) We do not know much else about Juana's riding, except she was her mother's daughter, and her son Charles V was noted as a horseman, "skilful at all weapons, on horseback and on foot, and above all had a stout heart and courage, which matter more than all the rest," as Bernard Diaz, one of the great *Conquistadors* wrote of his Emperor.

The Spaniards who went to the New World with Cortez valued the horses accompanying them on that difficult and dangerous voyage; their chroniclers having as much to say about the horses as the men. For instance there was a brave Captain Gonzalo de Santoval, said to be the finest horseman of them all, who went to Mexico at the age of twenty-two, and in that gold-scrambling Age was "chiefly careful of his duty as a good captain," his dark bay horse "Motilla" being so famous that when the *Conquistadors* had taken Mexico they were "in two minds whether with the golden sun and silver moon, the emeralds and the feather cloaks," they ought to send the peerless "Motilla" to the Emperor. It is recorded that "five mares and two horses Don Pedro de Mendoza let loose upon the plains of the Argentine." For four hundred years since their descendants have been in daily use

among the cattle-men in South America ; now and again one of them is sold to-day for a stupendous price as an International Polo pony !

To-day we can sit under a canopy which has sheltered emperors, kings, princes of the blood, grand-dukes and arch-dukes, or in the gallery of the Riding School of the former Imperial Hoffsburg Palace in Vienna—to watch the “Spanish School” at work. This is a pilgrimage that should be made by everyone interested in the art of Riding. The riders have devoted their lives to the science of traditional horsemanship ; they connect modern Austria with the time of Charles V ; the pedigrees of the horses go back six hundred years ; curiosities if nothing else—worth a visit in this modern world.

We see the young horses, exclusively stallions, which as four-year-olds are sent from the State stud, now at Piber in Styria, the present home of the ancient “Lippizaner race” of horses. They are worked for some three months on the long rein and then quietly backed, these pure-bred Lippizaners being said to develop more slowly than other horses and consequently to last longer and to reach a greater age. More intensive training begins in the second year, commencing with *piaffieren* by hand, then according to each horse's individual disposition he is selected to specialise in the different exercises of the High School. In the words of the official handbook : “Only the talents the horse possesses by nature are developed and brought to perfection and strict avoidance of any circus tricks which do not belong to the Spanish School is insisted on, according to the rules taught by the High School since the sixteenth century.” During the third year the training is intensified and horses that have been worked with a snaffle bit proceed to the double bridle.

Of course, in time the typical “Spanish” flavour of the sixteenth century has been lost—or rather mingled with the Italian, French and German schools of the eighteenth century. For instance, the rider's dress is late eighteenth-century Austrian Empire, and the saddles used are the “French saddles,” introduced in the time of Louis XIV and of the type used for all “high-school” work throughout Europe ever since.

The exercises are “designed to show the perfectly trained horse and demonstrate the highest form of equine intelligence.” There is the beautiful “Spanish Trot,” the favourite pace of kings showing themselves to the people from the time of Xenophon downwards, perfectly timed “turns” and “circles” to either hand. But the traditional exercises require the horse to raise himself by degrees, carefully graduated first with its forelegs, then

its whole front, and then its hind-legs, lastly, most difficult of all, leaping into the air off all four legs at once.

The following are the chief exercises as still demonstrated by the Spanish School of Riding in Vienna :

(1) *The Levade*.—In which the horse raises its forehead with indrawn forelegs, bends his hind-legs as much as possible and so balances himself on the hind-quarters without altering his position. (See p. 287.)

(2) *The Mezair*.—A Levade, only with more scope. The horse going down with its forelegs, to rise same again in the Levade several times in succession. The horse advances slightly at each rising and sinking.

(3) *The Courbette*.—With position as in the Levade, but the horse advances and leaps from the hind-quarters several times without lowering the forehead.

(4) *The Croupade*.—A stationary leap with hind-quarters and forehead, whereby the hind-legs are drawn up under the horse.

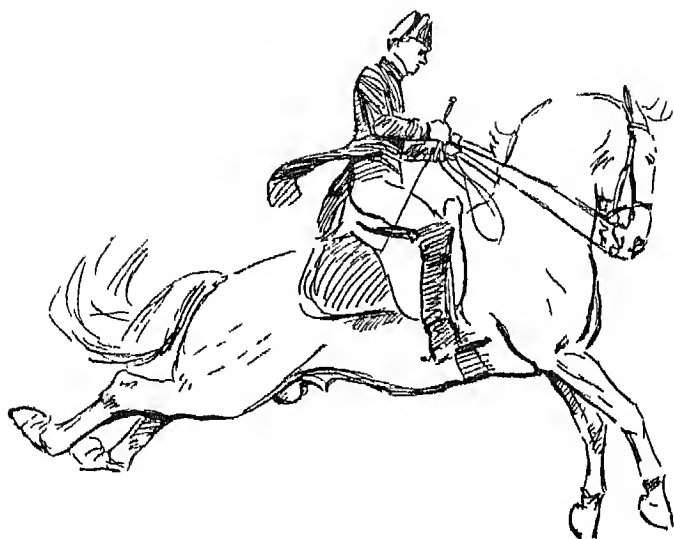
(5) *The Ballotade*.—A Croupade, in which the horse primarily tucks in his hind-legs—so that the shoes can be seen—looking as if he was going to kick.

(6) *The Capriole*.¹—The most perfect and difficult School-jump. A stationary leap about a metre high, whereby the horse tucks its forelegs under him and kicks out his hind-legs so that one can see his shoes. The line from the hind-legs to the forelegs should be level.²

It is fascinating thus to go back into history to-day and witness horsemanship centuries old and to compare the actions with pictures and prints of some three hundred years ago showing riders executing these identical movements. The "air" most commonly portrayed is the *Levade*, in which the horse may be said to rear from almost a squatting position on his hind-legs; Velasquez was fond of painting riders in this position, which is very showy and graceful, especially in front of a large company. Originally, in Italy probably, horses were trained to strike out at foes in front; there is something about a rearing horse which even to-day strikes terror into the minds of ignorant or unarmed foot-people! (The *Levade* is sometimes referred to in riding books based on the Italian principle as the *Pesade*). The *Mezair* is a similar action, except that the horse while still doing the rear moves forward; the *Courbette* is a still more pronounced forward movement. This is probably the movement which young Don Carlos is practising in the delightful picture of him by Velasquez at the Wallace Collection (Plate XIX)—a picture not quite so familiar as the Prado Don Carlos, even more charming. In the *Croupade* the horse springs into the air, doubling up forefeet under him; the *Ballotade* is similar, except for the kicking

¹ *Capriole*, caper, from the Latin *capere*, a goat.

² The above description of the "airs" is taken from the official handbook given to visitors at *die Spanische Reitschule*.



The "capriole" at the *Spanische Reitschule*, Vienna.
(Note absence of throat-lash).

attitude, and the *Capriole* is almost a combination of a kick and a buck.

The above are the "airs above ground"; the principal actions "on the ground" being:

- (1) The *Piaffe*—a trotting motion with the horse stationary.
- (2) The *Passage*, a *piaffe* in which the horse does a springing trot, raising his feet high and with a pause between each phase. It is often referred to as "the Spanish trot"—a truly beautiful action, and by some horses performed naturally.
- (3) The *Pirouette*—a turn to right or left, the horse circling on the inner hind-foot, merely keeping it in motion to turn, while the outer hind-foot and both forefeet do a cantering movement in the smallest possible circumference.

The horsemen of the *Spanische Reitschule* who school the horses have all undergone years of training themselves; in fact no rider is considered a qualified teacher until he has done ten to fifteen years in the *manège*!

In 1928 horses and riders from *die Spanische Reitschule* gave a brilliant performance during the International Horse Show fortnight at Olympia. This was the first time they had given an exhibition away from the Imperial Riding School and London was grateful, but at that time, apart from a handful of experts, the public had no idea of the true significance of what they were witnessing; though impressed, many showed their ignorance by applauding at the wrong time and even laughing. In 1934 and in 1935 the French *Cadre Noir* from Saumur likewise came over to give a Ride and an exhibition of *sautours*. It was instructive to witness how closely the British audience at each performance followed the movements and how enormously knowledge of High School riding had quickened in the relatively short time since the visit of the Austrians. It was also interesting to see the different methods of the two Schools. The Austrians say that the French learnt all they know from the Spanish School, while the French claim to have perfected those methods and to train horses much better and quicker! This year—1936—the Austrians are coming over again.

III. THE FRENCH

Typical of the best French sentiment, the French School of Riding developed on independent lines. All through the Middle Ages French cavalry—synonymous with French Chivalry—had been recruited from among the class by birth and breeding eligible for knighthood. Trained from boyhood to skill in arms and keeping his seat on a horse, actual warfare was the knight's principal exercising-ground; but *tournays* were devised between campaigns for practice and the testing of young aspirants. When old enough and trained sufficiently as a page in the household of some famous knight, the young warrior was admitted to these mock contests between two parties of knights, each under the leadership of some great man.

Tournays may have evolved from the ancient "Troy Game" popular with Roman youths and said to have come originally from Greece, and consisting of elaborate evolutions in the arena on horseback, rather after the manner of a modern "musical ride" or tattoo. There were many quaint rules and regulations at a Tournament, quite as much tests of knightliness and knowledge of etiquette as of skill in arms and horsemanship. At times they were undoubtedly dangerous to life and limb and Popes tried to forbid them.

France was the birthplace of glorious Tournaments. Richard Cœur-de-Lion saw them and allowed his knights to take part, but taxed the performers according to their rank! Blunt swords and wooden truncheons were used at Tournaments instead of

sharp swords and heavy maces ; it was the herald's job to see that the rules and customs were obeyed in spirit and in fact.

The *joust* was a combat between two individuals mounted and armed with hollow wooden spears with blunt tips. The idea being to break your spear against your opponent or bear him backwards, the disgrace to lose your helmet or to be unhorsed—frightfully dangerous positions for any cavalierman in the Middle Ages.

The prizes at a Tournament were awarded by the ladies on the recommendation of the heralds. So it came about that the young knight charging desperately into the enemy's ranks would shout : "*France et St. Denys*," and "O that my lady saw me!" Frenchmen have ever performed brilliantly for these sentiments.

In the Middle Ages the main requisites of the knight were a firm seat and great bodily strength. The saddles of the day were designed with a peak or arch back and front of the rider, giving him as strong a seat as possible to withstand the shock of a "full tilt." The horseman, covered first with chain mail and then with iron from head to foot as fire-power improved on the introduction of steel cross-bows and English long-bows, became as stiff as his own armour. With his legs encased in steel piping he was quite out of touch with his horse, having no control of its movements. The great Flemish charger could only be expected to gallop straight on, adding his armed weight to :

"The grating shock of wrathful iron arms."

(*Richard II.*)

Carrying a heavy rider all day was sufficient strain, without performing anything in the nature of "turns" and "bounds," especially as the only "aids" possible were a pair of sharp spurs to set the Great Horse going "full tilt" and a sharp bit to stop him again! In a battle, after a first charge if neither side had gained the day, another charge and another was possible till the horses were tired, then broken spears were thrown away and those knights not already taken honourable prisoners fought on horseback with hacking swords and maces till opponents were knocked on the head, killed or captured, and the battle won.

After Louis XII's conquest of Milan Italian ideas started to percolate into France, receiving fresh impulse under Francis I. Great men began to try the new ideas, new armour, new weapons and new horses. Italian horses took the place of Spanish jennets as the rage. Chevalier Bayard had a famous charger, "*Carmen*," said to have been a bay. Bayard was reputed the best horseman in France ; it is likely that he had the secret of good hands ; men spoke with awe of "*Chevalier Bayard's Carmen* controlled

by word of mouth alone"—considered in those days almost miraculous! Sir Walter Scott (in *The Lady of the Lake*) thus romantically describes this phenomenon :

“ Stand Bayard, stand ! The steed obeyed
With arching neck and bended head,
And glaring eye and quivering ear
As if he loved his Lord to hear.”

It was in 1559 that Henry II, King of France, wearing the black and white favours of Diane de Poitiers, died of injuries received at a Tournament when the splintered lance of Count Gabriel Montgomery, Captain of the Scots Guards, the first Company of the Royal Body Guard, entered his eye. As a result of this accident Tournaments were abolished in France, the practice of equitation consequently suffering severely for many years.

Late in the sixteenth century, a certain Frenchman, Pluvinal de la Baume, after attending a six-years' course of instruction at the famous Pignatelli's School near Naples, returned to France steeped with the new ideas, and founded the first *Académie d'Equitation*. He became successively Director of the Royal Stables to Henry IV, Governor to the Dauphin—afterwards Louis XIII—and *Écuyer* or Instructor in Horsemanship to the latter, later on Ambassador to the Netherlands. By his personal influence Pluvinal restored the popularity of riding in France, partly “ for use in the warres,” and partly to escape the drudgery of Court existence.

It is unlikely that any schoolroom history of France will mention M. de Pluvinal, but had we lived in those days we should most certainly have heard of this important and charming man who was well known personally to everybody at Court. A fine rider himself, in addition—which is a rare combination—he was a great teacher of horsemanship at a time when to ride was essential, and at a Court when to ride well was becoming the fashion and a decided advantage in any career.

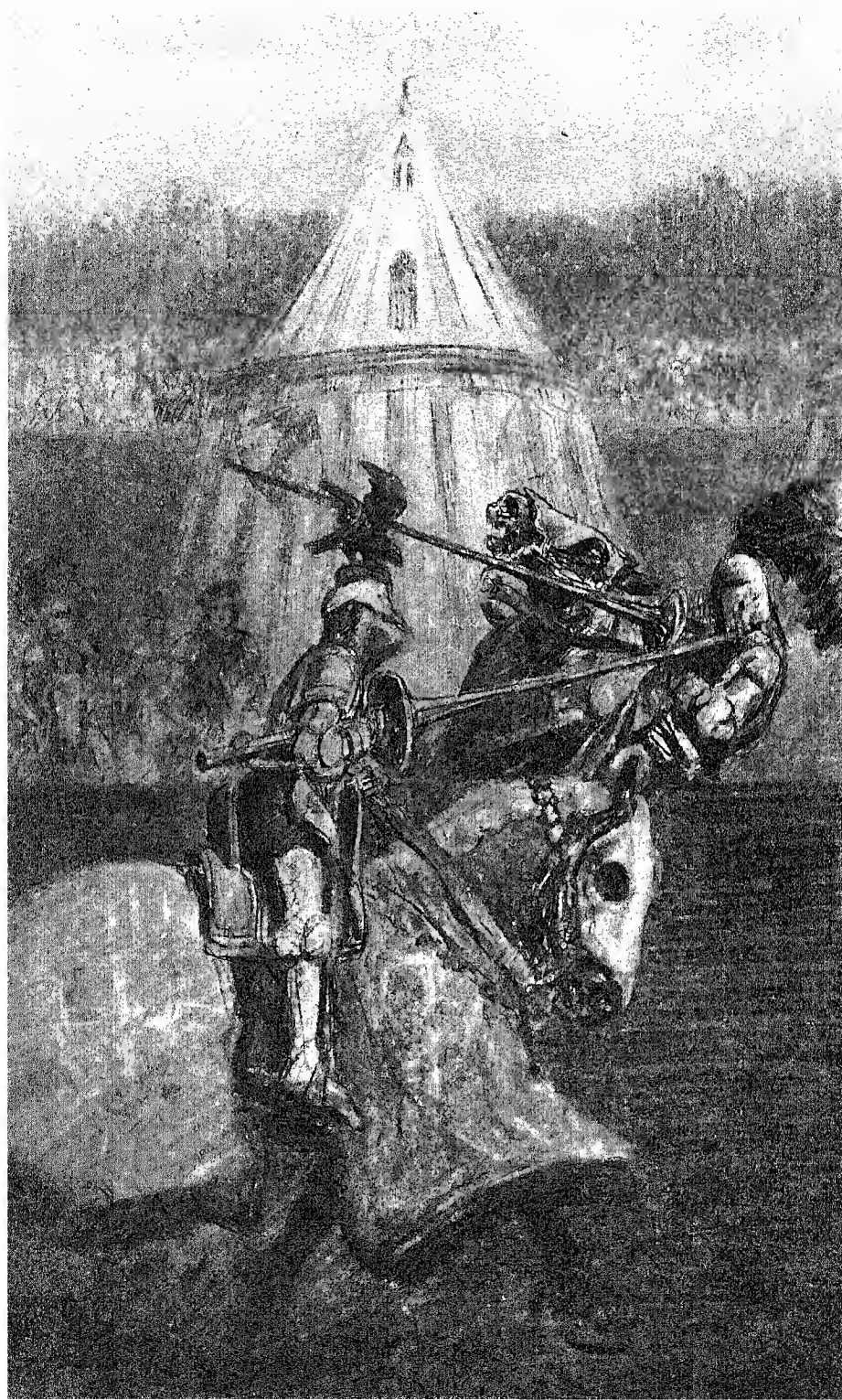
In France the later days of Henry IV and the major portion of the reign of Louis XIII were without major operations, but it was still necessary to keep the horse-soldier to the highest pitch of excellence, ready for any service that might be required of him. For at this time the gentlemen of the Court, like the knights of mediæval times, formed the cavalry arm of any invading or defensive force. France was a long time assimilating that other Italian idea of a paid professional army. A course in M. de Pluvinal's School for *cavaliers* on the Italian model just outside the palace of the Louvre in the Royal Stables offered the best means of keeping physically fit, up to date and in good riding practice.

Every nation in Europe adopted the new riding to its own conditions: in Spain for hard campaigns; in France for daily exercise, less strenuous than Royal hunting—requiring less time and expenditure, and was most acceptable to the Court gallant, never so happy as when able to show himself off to admiring eyes. Then, of course, pageants and state entries into Paris and other cities were a necessary part of Statecraft of the day; it is not surprising that Frenchmen should desire to set themselves off on horseback to the greatest advantage possible; letters and memoirs of the day are full of references to such occasions for pomp and ceremony in which the horse played a great part.

In place of the *mêlée*, of the old type of Tournaments, there were now individual contests *à deux* in "the lists"—strong barricaded passages for each horseman to gallop down, and considered much safer than the joust on open ground, where one horse swerving caused a horrible fall. Better steel armour had been invented which was lighter, but even in Pluvinal's day the French horseman fully equipped for war was so carefully encased that he could not bend, bow, or turn the head, and an armourer was needed to get the knight into his suit with the aid of a spanner and a scaffold to get him on to his horse! True he became well-nigh impregnable in the saddle, but indeed a fall must have been "a awful thing"; no wonder that the simple form of an Italian steel cuirass, a quick, light, well-trained horse, and a rapier, tended under Pluvinal more and more to oust the heavy men-at-arms, who on their heavy German "coursers," armed with those long spears which could only point in one direction. A light man on a light horse could make rings round the latter, and select the opportunity to stop and let off his pistol at a vulnerable spot. The heavy man could not retaliate in any way—his bridle hand, encased in armour, would only move an inch or two, the best of armour would not withstand a bullet at close quarters—the only answer was equal mobility and superior fire-power. But though military genius moves quickly in regard to equipment in war-time, in the period of French history covered by the peaceful policy of Cardinal Richelieu the change over was slow; if slow, it was sure.

Practice at the lists was still encouraged. We learn from Pluvinal that the secret in "running the course" was to grip the tilting lance very loosely in the hand so that the shock of impact would not be likely to strain or even break the rider's wrist as sometimes happened, the fear of which often caused him to duck. These lances were specially made of a standard pattern, highly decorated, but light and hollow so that they were easily broken. The object was still to break a lance on your opponent's helmet which counted as a throw; one such broken lance in three

Jousting in the lists: a win.

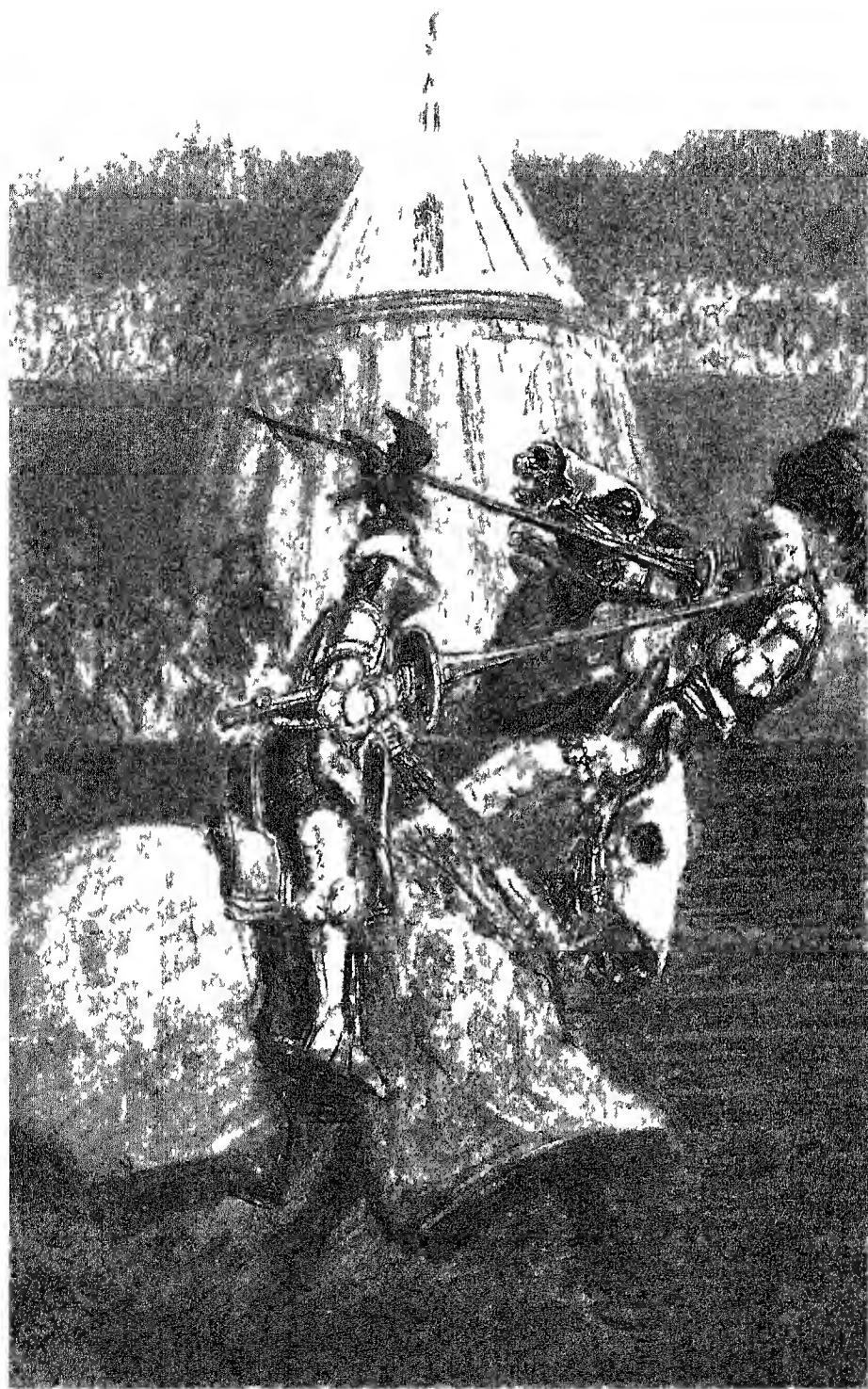


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"courses" was very good. It was considered very clumsy and disgraceful tilting to break a lance across your opponent's chest—being too easy a mark. Shakespeare knew all about the rules of tilting; for instance, the irony in *As You Like It*:

"He writes brave verses, speaks brave words, swears brave oaths, and breaks them bravely, quite traverse, althwart the heart of his lover; as a puisny tilter, that spins his horse but on one side, breaks his staff like a noble goose."

And again in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

"Full merrily
Hath this brave manage, this career been run,
Lo, he is tilting straight! Peace I have done."

The lances were held in "a rest" on the breast-piece or cuirass to help the rider aim straight and to add force to the impact. Removing an opponent's helmet counted as "a win," because certain apprehensive tilters were apt to leave their headpieces unlaced to their body armour in order to save the shock of impact, which undoubtedly must have been a nasty jerk!

Gradually, with the new ideas, a lot of the old spirit went out of such a painful sport and in spite, no doubt, of what the old school of tilters said as to the degeneration of modern youth and the superiority of warriors of the past, such encounters tended to become obsolete except for purposes of show. Gradually the dangerous *joust* was replaced by "tilting at the quintain"—a very popular amusement also in Elizabethan England. The quintain was a wooden dummy, often the figure of a Saracen with a sword in his hand, set up on a swivel arrangement which rotated when struck wrongly with a lance, giving the clumsy tilter a buffet across the shoulders as he passed! Practice at the quintain was excellent for the eye and often provided a lot of fun for the onlookers and was without the dangers of the old joust. In fact, there was no need to trouble to put on armour of any kind.

Another traditional method of training for war still remained popular—tilting at the Ring—an exercise similar to modern "tent pegging." A ring was set up hanging from a hook on a pole, "courses" were run in turn, and the rider most successful in carrying off the ring gained the prize; in the case of the young King Louis XIII—winner on one occasion—a watch. Spanish *genets* and Barbs were considered the best mounts for this; medium-sized horses being better than the large or small. The ring was hung up on the left side of the rider—which is where the enemy was most likely to attack. In Pluvial's time tilting at the Ring had to "be done very well and gracefully, at the beginning of the *Career*, the middle and the end, as it was likely

that ladies would be looking on," for as Pluvinal remarks, "the favours of ladies have at all times done wonders to horsemen."

Pluvinal imported from Italy the idea of mounted displays—partly pageants and partly musical rides—which were known as *Carrousel*s. Gradually, in place of the Tournaments with their display of iron force, *Carrousel*s encouraged an exhibition of graceful horsemanship and perfectly balanced and trained horses. Equitation became the most fashionable game in Europe and M. de Pluvinal the most famous of teachers.

M. de Pluvinal wrote a book for the young Louis XIII called *Le Manège Royale ou l'Instruction du Roi*. Many of its precepts are identical with those of Colonel Geoffrey Brooke and others to-day—which is interesting as many English people are apt to associate *Haute École* with strange cruelties to the horse and curious-looking spurs and bits. As a matter of fact much of what M. de Pluvinal thought about horses and making them strong-muscled and well-balanced has been rediscovered by British Cavalry experts at Weedon, influenced largely by things seen and heard of the French Cavalry Schools in France during the Great War.

We can best give some account of sixteenth-century Equitation in France by quoting extracts from Pluvinal's own book. It was written in a tiresome way—according to the fashion of the day—in the form of a conversation between Pluvinal and the young King, with occasional interjections from the former's Chief, M. le duc de Belgarde, *Grand Ecuyer du Roi*, one of the most important appointments at Court and himself acknowledged as one of the best and most graceful exponents of the new riding.

De Pluvinal starts his book by the observation that "riding is necessary for the body but also for the wit of man," and goes on to explain the subtle difference—often as little understood now as it evidently was then—between a *bel homme à cheval* and a *bon homme*. A *bel homme* can be best translated as a graceful rider with the perfect seat, one who in Pluvinal's own words

"knows how to sit his horse, to hold the reins, to look serenely and cheerfully straight between his horse's ears, keeping his shoulders square, his stomach well out, leaving a hollow in his back: his knees well in and firmly gripping and his feet no less firm in his stirrups: heels down, and turned outwards lest the spurs should inadvertently touch the horse: finally knowing how to keep his seat whatever pranks the animal may play. these things, if a horseman be also well and suitably dressed, make him a *bel homme à cheval*"

Whereas to be

"a good man on a horse you must have judgment—a drug sold very dear at the chemist's, and very little of it for much silver. You must understand a horse and its needs, its training and, in short, everything about it. But when all this is learnt you will not be a *bon homme à cheval* unless you are also a *bel homme*. For if a man has not a perfect seat he cannot ride a horse with fine judgment. . . . One must know both from practical experience and theory the way to make all kinds of horses, in all sorts of aims and *manège*, recognising their strong points, their inclinations, their habits, their perfections and imperfections and their entire natures. Above all, using judgment to know what each horse can usefully do—at least not taking on for him more than he can attain to with grace, and having this judgment to start, continue and achieve that object with the particular horse, using patience, resolution and gentleness and the necessary strength to attain the result that the good horseman aspires to."

All this was new to the *élite* of the French Court, but the best type of Frenchmen have always been interested in new ideas, and logical and painstaking in their adaptation. Nevertheless, the French horsemen continued for the most part to sit stiffly in their saddles—only slightly at that time modified from the jousting pattern; still out of touch with their horses and obliged therefore to control them by what would be considered later on an immoderate use of spur and whip, necessitating severe training to the horse, tending to artificial indoor work with the aid of cavesson and pillar.

Asked what he first taught his pupils M. de Pluvinal replied: "To dress with propriety and comfort." We gather that he regarded his Chief, M. de Belgarde, as the "mould of form." "You ought to dress like the Chief Instructor"—from his pictures certainly a magnificent-looking person. Pluvinal was as particular about riding boots as any Cavalry subaltern ordering his first pair at Maxwell's to-day; "boots should be of best cowhide or wild boar (soft and thick like our 'peccary hog') and they must be cut higher at the back of the leg than the front so as to make the leg look longer . . . toes to be square, and spurs worn *à la Domville*" (a noted rider of the previous reign).

Pluvinal tells us that his horses came chiefly from Italy; he was insistent on good shape, good feet and legs, considering Barbs were best for the *Carrière*—that is riding at the ring, running "a course" to break a lance and the practice for War—mentioning the bay horse "Bonite," a Barb given to the King "le paragon de tous les chevaux de *Manège* du monde."

Louis XIII came to have riding lessons from Pluvinal at the age of thirteen, when he "had finished his other studies." A true

courtier, de Pluvinal greeted his Royal pupil with : " Il est très raisonnable qu'étant le plus grand monarque de la Chrestienté, votre Majestie prenne la première leçon sur le plus parfait cheval de l'Europe—*le Bonite*," and the King, who really seems to have loved riding from his infancy, proved himself an apt pupil and loved riding "*Bonite*." (See Plate XVIII.)

It is interesting to compare Pluvinal's ideas of teaching horsemanship with modern methods. He explains how he taught the King to mount correctly, to look first at the bridle, see that the bit is in the right place—not too tight—and that the saddle is right—not to be done fussily but " because your life depends on these things, Sire."

A graceful seat was perhaps given undue prominence, but Pluvinal makes an observation which many teachers of riding to-day, professional as well as amateur, would do well to remember. " In teaching a young person, do not cry out and threaten him, constantly correcting . . . but if possible let him always make his own mistakes and correct himself. Show him a good example of the sort of horseman you want him to be, explain the good points of your model—and he will strive to copy him." This method would have saved many failures in our own day !

Pluvinal preferred his pupils " to attempt too much rather than too little " ; he liked them to practise horsemanship in the relatively safe and quiet precincts of an indoor school where there were no distractions for horse or rider, considering quiet concentration essential. He taught practice in fighting on horseback armed with a sword—requiring perfectly trained men and horses responding to hand and heel, obedient, and schooled to the noise of drums, trumpets and shouting. The rider must be upright and firm in the saddle, yet very supple from the waist up ready to dodge an enemy's weapon. Because many riders gave away their intentions to their opponents by obvious movements of hand and heels, Pluvinal taught the grace that conceals art. He laid stress on fighting quietly ; only the leader in battle should shout to give his orders and show his position. Swords should be used in sideways movements—as a miss-hit damaged your own horse !

Pluvinal planned the school of horse and rider by gradual stages. With regard to making a young horse he started by tying him up to a single pillar in the middle of an indoor school where, without any distractions, he learnt to walk, trot and then canter round his pillar, circling on both hands, an assistant standing handy with a long switch " to hasten him on ! " Sometimes a *chambrière*—a whip made of flat strips of leather which made a

good swishing noise behind a recalcitrant pupil was used—but Pluvinal lays stress on the importance of making work a pleasure to a horse, saying “though he must be punished (switched) for doing wrong, he must be made much of when he ceases to rebel.”

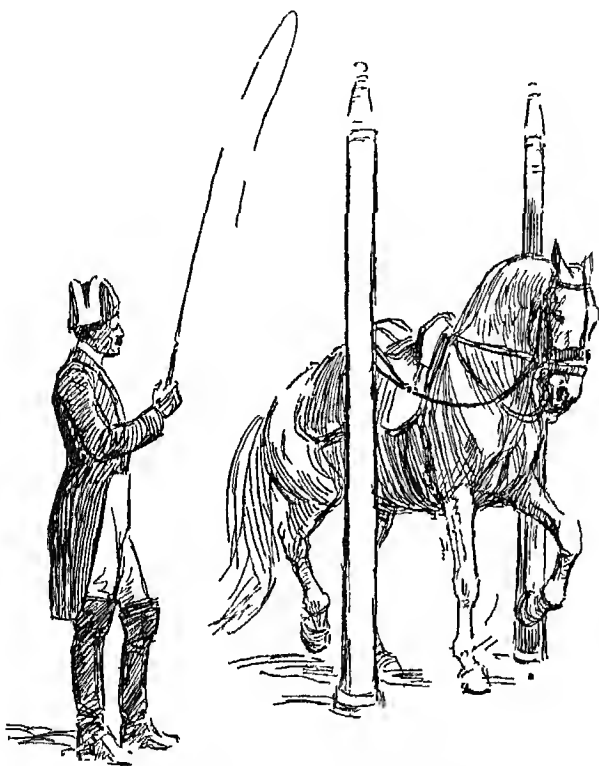
A horse was considered *bien dressé* when perfectly obedient to hand and heel, Pluvinal preferring to make him by gentleness rather than by severity, for the reason that a horse “managed” for pleasure goes with so much greater grace than the one who is constrained by force. He will take pleasure in his work, provided he is a good horse and is not hurried, excited, hurt, allowed to contract bad habits, unfairly punished for things he does not know he has done wrong, worked too long or sickened by monotony. All this is what Colonel Brooke to-day would call “horse sense,” but I fancy that these were very new ideas to the Court circles of the day. Pluvinal says himself that his theories on *dressage* were not understood in Italy, “the Italian School not having the success with bad-tempered, slow, lazy, hard-mouthed horses as they had not the patience of the best French horsemen.” On the other hand, de Pluvinal admits that the Italian Grisson at Naples was the best rider he had ever seen.

With a difficult horse, Pluvinal’s method was to tie him by a cavesson between two pillars. The cavesson in its simplest form being a length of rope put over the horse’s head and round his nose with the loose ends looped round the two pillars. The nose-piece could be adjusted, high or low, and was generally fashioned like a strong head-stall, sometimes being lined with soft leather to prevent chafing the horse’s nose. Occasionally the underside of this nose-band was studded with blunt nails or even small pricks working on the horse’s nose. This may sound cruel, but Pluvinal rightly considered it a much more humane method than pulling a horse’s mouth about with heavy sharp bits or ruining his temper with a curb-chain—the only alternatives to get him to do the “airs.” Pluvinal himself never put a bit of any kind in a young horse’s mouth until he had been thoroughly “schooled to the cavesson.” At the worst the horse suffered a sore nose outside, instead of a sore mouth inside—which latter might prevent him feeding, or ruin his mouth for ever.¹

On the satisfactory completion of early lessons on “the single pillar,” the horse was taught to move from side to side, or

¹ Curiously enough, this cavesson method is still in use by certain American “cowboy” horse-breakers. I have ridden a polo-pony that came from California that “answered the helm” perfectly with no bit in his mouth, the reins attached to a broad nose-band studded with two blunt nails. Evidently this old method of breaking horses has lingered with other Spanish customs taken to America by the Conquistadors from Spain and Portugal.

"passage" as we call it, with the "aid" of the switches, while tied by the cavesson between two pillars; then he learnt to circle round the single pillar when tied to it very short—the aim all the time being to lighten his front, and transfer the centre of balance as much as possible to his hocks and quarters. To our ideas high-school horses kept in the pitch of training would be impossibly light in front, and very muscle-bound; but I think that



Training for the "piaffe." Spanish Riding School, Vienna, 1935.

in Pluvinal's time the great majority of horses merely passed through the High School, as young horses to-day pass through Weedon or Captain Hance's School course of instruction. Few horses in Pluvinal's day were kept entirely for High School, though no doubt the tendency to do so was growing, as it would grow in the succeeding century and just as the temptation to keep a hunter solely for point-to-points is irresistible to many in our own generation!

The young horse was accustomed to a saddle and bridle while

"on the pillars," every care being taken not to frighten him and to avoid accidents, for, as Pluvinal says, "there is no pleasure in seeing harm done to a man and no use in ruining a horse." Then stirrups hanging loose were added, next a light-weight riding pupil without spurs was placed on the saddle, followed by another light but very experienced rider. Pluvinal only punished a horse when he did wrong knowingly, and then "switched him well." Directly he showed signs of trying to do what was wanted, "you could best reward him by sending him back to his stable, getting off his back, or making much of him—according to the circumstances and the type of horse-nature you were dealing with."

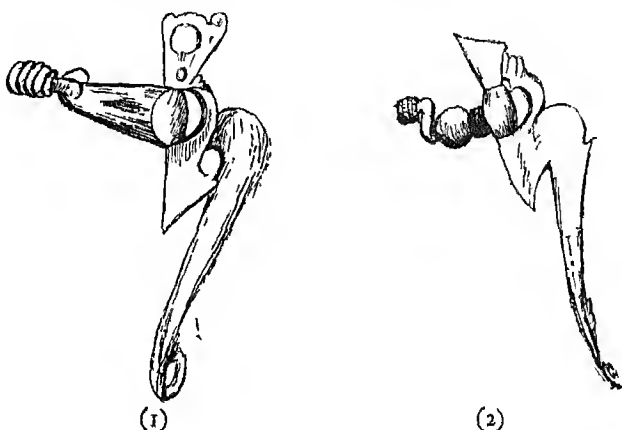
The switch was used a great deal in Pluvinal's school ("pages of the stable" are shown in many pictures carrying armfuls of them!) As well as being an agent of correction, a switch was used by the rider to signal the horse regarding his next movement; horses being so highly trained that the slightest alteration of the rider's body, his heels or hands with a tap from the switch, conveyed the next "air."

Pluvinal advocated spurs and sharp ones at that, but he deprecated their use. "Heels," he said, "should be used as little as possible because they catch the eye of the beholder"—invisible control being the essence of graceful riding and "spurring the mark of a bad horseman and a confession of failure. . . . Moreover, a horse that does not take pleasure in his work is no pleasure either to ride or to watch."

Pluvinal could write that a good horseman must "know by instinct when his horse defeats him, whether this arrives from ignorance of what is required of him, gay spirits, or lack of memory. You can only vanquish a horse by patience or by strength, and for those who do not know a great deal it will be better to use patience and to prefer that the horse does things for the sake of a pat at the end than for fear of a beating." His main conclusion in schooling horses being that "they must be worked little and often": there is not much difference in "horse-sense" in three hundred years. See Captain Hance's *School for Horse and Rider*, 1932.

With regard to bits, those used by the French School were mostly long-cheeked single-rein curb-bits or pelhams—though of peculiar-looking design. They were sharp, but Pluvinal is most emphatic that a bit must suit and fit each individual horse. He deemed "four or five different types of bits sufficient in any stable"—there evidently being a fashion as there used to be in English hunting stables of the last century for collecting weird and terrible-looking bits! But Pluvinal recommends the bit "which does no hurt in the horse's mouth, when *conduite* by

the good hands of the *cavalier*. . . . All the diversity of spurs, whether sharp or blunt, do not manner horses if they are not placed on the heels of someone who knows how to use them aright ; in the same way diversity of bits do not alter the head or mouth of horses, if the hand which makes use of them is not an expert in the usage." His aim all the time when riding was "to give pleasure to the horse, and bits which suit one are not suitable to others." He says that he himself used only some dozen different-sized bits in the training of all sorts of horses, and he took much trouble in seeing that the bridle itself fitted and that the bit selected gave ample room for the individual horse's tongue,



The long cheeks and bars of two Pluvinal's bits ($\frac{1}{2}$ of each shown).

- (1) *For light-mouthed horses (a type of pointed snaffle).*
- (2) *For hard-mouthed horses (a pelham with high port, but movable rings and ball on mouthpiece).*

fitting both inside and outside its mouth. And he always took care that the curb-chain rested in its proper place, for certain horses covering it with a leather guard—as we do to-day. He liked the curb-chain to hang a little loose.

I do not think the bits used were as severe as they look on first glancing at them. Horses were trained to go very much behind their bits, this lightness in front being essential, and with many horses I fancy a lot was done with neck-reining. A type of two-reined pelham was used, severe to look at but often covered with leather, long-cheeked curbs with and without ports, and various curious-looking jointed bits with sharp and smooth bars—any sort of sliding action was evidently unknown, though one bit used had a mouthpiece of jointed discs, very similar to the bit used in Classical Greece.

With regard to the actual training one can agree with Captain Beudant, modern specialist of the French High School and author of a delightful book on the subject, that "in training a horse a man also trains himself." Self-control is indeed the secret of successful horse-mastership, for, as Pluvinal wrote so long ago, "it is so easy to get in a temper, but be careful, because by unjust punishment or using force one can never (or rarely) draw anything of value from a horse."

The "airs" taught in sixteenth-century France differed only in minor details with those taught in the Italian or Spanish Schools. Pluvinal regarded an exercise called *les passades* as the best test of a riding horse, which consisted of galloping *à tout bride* three times a distance some five or six times the horses' own length, on the third "stop" making a half-turn or *demi-volte*, to the right, and doing a similar set of three "careers" at full speed, followed by a *demi-volte* to the left and three more. The test being in the pace, stopping and turning movements of the horse—would be quite severe for a good polo-pony nowadays. Pluvinal added that five such *passades* were sufficient at one time, as a horse got pumped and "it was necessary to conserve the wind (or breath) of a war horse"! In this connection of keeping a horse "in wind" it is perhaps interesting to explain that this is what Shakespeare meant about Prince Hal riding so perfectly that he seemed to

" Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury
And vault with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus
And witch the world with noble horsemanship."

(Henry IV.)

Courbettes were easily taught to a young horse tied between two pillars on the cavesson by switching his forelegs and getting him to rise in a sort of half-rear. To do the *courbettes* across the School-yard was considered an excellent performance. *La volte* was a circular movement which must be done on both hands very neatly. The *capriole* was considered as now the most beautiful of all the "airs" and the extreme test of both rider and horse; except that the saddles used gave one a very firm seat it must have been very difficult to sit those curious half-bound half-buck leaps into the air with the grace so earnestly desired by Pluvinal.

Lastly, with regard to this Chief Instructor and to show that he was more than a teacher of riding, in his book Pluvinal states that he was very anxious for the King to establish Colleges of Arms for young gentlemen, for the reason that "as the nobility were anxious to get the best instruction in all things that pertain to their position, it would be wise to direct their energies to

channels useful to the State. . . . Great conquests and good laws are never made except by the strength, industry and good upbringing of men. . . . Something which instils courage from earliest youth, infuses good manners and satisfies natural cravings for outdoor exercise, will rightly produce service for the Monarchy." That Louis XIII could not take the advice of his Riding Instructor was probably his loss, and that of the whole Royal line of France ; for it was a discontented and unemployed aristocracy that made the French Revolution possible.



"The Levade."

The favourite pose of the old masters for equestrian portraits.

Louis XIV founded the famous Riding Establishment of the Tuileries, which became the most famous School of equitation in Europe. It was conducted under M. de la Queriniere, Chief Instructor to the King ; he introduced light horses from England and also modified the severe methods of the pillar and cavesson system, no longer required with the better bred type of horses. It was he who redesigned the saddle, reducing the size of the front and rear arches, to the type still used to-day for all *haut école* work and known as the "French saddle." Louis XV still further extended the Riding Establishments, creating those of Versailles,

St. Germain and Saumur; in 1771 the Riding Establishment of Saumur became the Cavalry School.

The Revolution suppressed these ideas; even Napoleon's famous cavalry that rode over the whole of Europe had no more instruction than barely sufficed to teach a man to sit on a horse. After Napoleon's downfall, the Riding Establishments were restored and Saumur has remained the French Cavalry School ever since. The Instructors at Saumur, still known as *Écuyers*, form the famous *Cadre Noir*, so-called from black uniform and black hats introduced in 1824 and worn to this day. Until 1857 the Instructors at Saumur could be either civilians or soldiers, but since then they have been exclusively cavalry officers of the French Army. Among the most famous horsemen in the *Cadre Noir* have been the Vicomte d'Abzac and the Comte d'Aure.

To-day at Saumur a visitor may watch from the Gallery of the Riding School the ride of the *Cadre Noir*, on condition that he does not talk and removes his hat, in accordance with the ancient tradition of the *Manège des Écuyers*. In the summer of 1934 at the International Horse Show at Olympia we were privileged to watch a display by the *Cadre Noir* consisting of a riding school ride with the "French saddle" and bridle, and a ride of *Sauteurs* representing the highest degree of training of horse and man in keeping with ancient tradition, but modified to suit modern systems of cavalry training.

IV. THE ENGLISH

Sixteenth-century Englishmen were not likely to be far behind the Continent in their appreciation of the new ideas on equitation. Henry VIII had over some of the Italian experts, evidently profiting considerably by their lessons, for there is a letter (quoted by Miss Julia Cartright in her *Isabella d'Este*) from the Papal Nuncio in London (M. Chiericati) describing young King Henry's exhibition of horsemanship at a Tournament held in honour of the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury and attended by thousands of spectators on tier upon tier of seats:

"The King appeared on horseback in a white damask surcoat, embroidered with his device of roses in rubies and diamonds, with a helmet on his head, and a richly jewelled breastplate valued at 300,000 ducats. He was followed by forty knights on white horses with bridles and harness of pure silver, worked in enamel with the King and Queen's initials and devices, upon which all the goldsmiths in the city had been employed for the last four months. The Duke of Suffolk rode out at the head of a similar troop from the opposite pavilion, and when he met the King in single fight we seem to see Hector and Achilles. After this encounter, the King took off his

armour and appeared in blue velvet, embroidered with gold bells, attended by twenty-four pages in the same livery, and rode before the Queen on a very tall white horse, prancing and leaping as it went, and when he had tired out one horse, he went back to his tent and mounted another."

It does not seem that the Nuncio appreciated either horsemanship or horses about which we should so like more information—evidently the pleasures of the table being more in his line, as later in the same letter he describes the banquet which followed the Tournament, "the finest things" in his eyes being the "jellies made in the shape of castles, towers, churches and animals of every variety"!

Queen Elizabeth, ever with sure touch on the pulse of her people, remarks that "people born in the British Isles possessed a remarkable love for the horse that was found in no other country"¹ In Elizabeth's reign a certain Bankes had a horse called "Morocco" (evidently a Barb) that he had taught to do all manner of simple tricks—such as lying down on command, walking on his hind legs—in those days regarded as *miraculous*. He was persuaded to travel to Rome to give a performance—both man and horse were pronounced in league with the devil, and consequently in keeping with the spirit of the times were both condemned to death—burnt at the stake. This bigoted and ghastly ignorance caused intense indignation in England, and increased the anti-Catholic feeling.

Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Leicester, was a fine horseman; people said he first caught the eye of his Royal patroness by "performing on a white courser"; it was he who commissioned Mr. Blundevill to translate the book on riding by the Italian Frederick Grisson and asked over two Neapolitans—Claudio Corte, the author of one of the first books on equitation, *Il Cavallerizzo* (1573), and Prospero d'Osma who also rode for Sir Philip Sidney and was employed by Leicester to report on the Royal Studs in 1576. (*The Royal Studs*, C M Prior)

Shakespeare was acquainted with the new riding, for he described the young Henry of Monmouth's "noble horsemanship." And soon he was expressing in admiration:

"What rounds, what bounds, what course, what stop he makes!"

It is a fact that Shakespeare's men of action—Henry V, Hotspur, Mark Antony, the Dauphin, and the King of Denmark—are all horsemen, among whose sins those anyhow of irresolution found

¹ As I write—March 14th, 1935—thousands of people from all over England are assembling on Cheltenham Race-course for the express purpose only of seeing Golden Miller run for his fourth consecutive Gold Cup

no place; whereas Hamlet, though fond of falconry, was no horseman; and poor Richard II admitted himself "wanting the manage of unruly jades." It has ever been so in history from Alexander the Great to Cromwell.

The last Master of the Horse to Queen Elizabeth was the 4th Earl of Worcester who succeeded the unfortunate Essex in that important Court appointment at a time when the office was no sinecure. During the Tudor reigns when "proper men" were appreciated, successive Earls of Worcester, descendants of the great Plantagenet John of Gaunt, had surpassed most in this stepping-stone to Royal favour—they all seem to have been magnificent personalities, good-looking, able and loyal; at a time when all men rode they were brilliant horsemen and experts with sword and lance. The second Earl, as Lord Herbert, was selected to "play for England" on the Field of the Cloth of Gold—he led the English challengers, including his own two brothers, against the flower of French Chivalry, while his father as Master of the Horse to Henry VIII had the honour and responsibility of laying out the ground for the Tourney. Though new methods of warfare were imminent, destructive to mounted-men-at-arms, it is no disparagement that the first Earls of Worcester were among the best exponents of the old school; during their lifetimes there were few people appreciative of the fact that this school was passing with feudal and mediæval splendours. The 4th Earl was as magnificent in the tilt-yard as his grandfather. The 5th Earl—often referred to in Stuart histories as the "Great Marquis"—was also Master of the Horse to James I; but probably finding the Court of the "wisest fool" uncongenial he retired to live in princely state at Raglan, which he converted from a mediæval castle into the most beautiful dwelling of the day in the whole of the British Isles—Royal residences not excepted.

There is a prevalent idea that the Scotland of that time was far behind England in culture and riches; Scottish people may have been poorer and the masses more ignorant, but Scottish trade and intercourse with the Continent was greater and more important than England's of the day; England having quarrelled with almost every Continental Power depended on piracy for the trade by which to live! James I, being the son of Mary Queen of Scots—herself half French (the daughter of Mary Guise, see p. 210), there was as much to bind the French and Scottish Courts¹ together as there was to antagonise the English. Consequently, when James I introduced French customs of the Chase, French red deer, French hound language and huntsmen, it was likely that

¹ Scottish cart-horse harness to-day shows the influence of French design.

French ideas of horsemanship should follow too. A French teacher of riding, a M. St. Antoine, an excellent horseman, was sent over by Henry IV to teach the Prince of Wales to ride, and also M. la Coste, one of the Royal pages to the Riding School mentioned in Pluvial's book. Probably most of these lessons in equitation were given in London on what is now the Horse Guards, where the Annual Birthday Parade takes place—and which in Tudor London was the Royal Tilt-yard.

King James was much given to horse exercise; he was not strong on his feet, and could never excel in muscular exercise after the manner of Henry VIII; he was very partial to, if not very good on, a horse. His eldest son, Henry Prince of Wales, who died at a tragically early age, was said to excel on a horse as at other outdoor sports, but Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, so profited by the French ideas that he became one of the very best horsemen of his day, and in company where grace was largely a criterion of skill he was the acknowledged champion. Charles I married the sister of Louis XIII, and there are any amount of letters showing the sympathy in tastes and the family affection between the Stuarts and Bourbons.

Charles I's perfect seat on a horse can be seen in the picture by Vandyk, plate XX, and in the beautiful statue by Le Sueur (1633) at the top of Whitehall:

“Comely and calmly he rides
Hard by his own Whitehall . . .
Armoured he rides, his head
Bared to the stars of doom.”

(LIONEL JOHNSON.)

But Continental experts considered that the finest English *cavalier* of all was William Cavendish, Earl and afterwards Duke of Newcastle (1592–1676), governor or tutor of Charles II, author of books on Horsemanship and one of the greatest figures of his day. He it was who may be said to have made the French School of Riding so popular at the English Court that *Cavalier*—French for “horseman”—passed into a name for the adherents of the Royal cause through thick and thin, representing the dying spurt of feudalism or roystering libertines—according to which angle you regard them! Riding as an art did not get beyond the Court party in England.

At the beginning of King James I's reign the trained horseman as distinct from disciplined cavalry, was without peer and without exception the finest product of his Age. But we cannot fully appreciate his worth to his generation unless we understand his limitations—limitations which in 1600–1630 were unknown.

Elizabethans had been individualists, from Raleigh, Drake and Shakespeare downwards.

At the outbreak of Civil War Charles I found himself with the material for making the finest cavalry in the world but completely unprepared. The Wars of the Roses had broken up the miniature armies of the great nobles—no Sovereign dared to keep, or perhaps could not afford to pay, a standing army—with the result that the London train-bands and men and officers who had fought as mercenaries on the Continent were really the only disciplined forces available. Warburton tells us that at the battle of Edge Hill the majority of both armies—the Royalists and the Puritans—were composed of men armed with rusty pikes, sickles and hedge-knives. So one can imagine the supreme importance of cavalry soldiers lightly armed with a breast-plate and very quick and agile in close fighting. All they had to fear were better cavalry and “guns and other engines.” Without doubt, for some time the King held the entire preponderance of both, and it was solely the indifferent leadership of himself—largely owing to his half-heartedness in the struggle and dislike of ruthlessness against his own people—the courage bordering on suicide of Prince Rupert (his cavalry commander) and the general happy-go-lucky-ness of the English nobility and gentry that the Civil War was not over as soon as it had begun. Few people in England really took it seriously—the King expected Parliament and London to surrender any moment, and everyone wasted so much time that the military genius of Cromwell had time to develop into one of the most perfect military machines the World has ever known—the first professional British army, paid, armed, trained and confident that its cause was right. Prince Rupert in England taught the Cavaliers that Continental School work was excellent for teaching horsemanship, but horsemanship was only a means to an end—co-operation, discipline and mobility in warfare—a lesson the Cavaliers never really learnt very well. Their opponent, Cromwell, profited from the example. Officered by veterans of the wars on the Continent (who had fought with Gustavus Adolphus), Cromwell proved what no one had thought possible, that disciplined troopers were a match for the flower of the English Riding School—largely because that flower, so brilliant, so dainty, so confident and so beautiful, scorned to take the necessary steps to save itself, had not learnt to co-operate, was jealous of privilege, rank and place, deemed prudence the least of virtues and a light hand on the reins and a gallant bearing in the saddle the best things a gentleman could do.

But we have anticipated to some degree the decay of the Riding School in England—we must hark back to the “finest Cavalier

of them all"¹ Even by his enemy Clarendon, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, was conceded to be "a very fine gentleman." We know a lot about him from the delightful *Life* written by his wife, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle²

In her introduction to her *Life* of her husband she wrote:

"Since all times must be spent either ill or well or indifferently, I thought that this was the most harmless pastime: for sure this work is better than to sit still, and censure my neighbour's actions, which nothing concern me; or to condemn their humours because they do not sympathise with mine; or their lawful recreations because they are not agreeable to my delight; or ridiculously to laugh at my neighbour's clothes; or to busy myself out of the sphere of our sex, in politics of state, or to preach false doctrines in a tub, etc."

If it is true as the poet says that "to have known great riches, great poverty, a great love, is to have truly lived"—then we may justly say that the first Duke of Newcastle lived greatly. William Cavendish, a most trusted courtier of Charles I, made by that King Governor to his son Charles II, travelled, a good scholar (educated at St John's College, Cambridge), known throughout an interested Europe as one of the most brilliant horsemen of his day, he was very rich and the owner of famous Welbeck and Bolsover where he entertained James I and Charles I with princely magnificence. When the Scottish war broke out he lent the King £10,000 and a troop of volunteer horse consisting of one hundred and twenty knights and gentlemen—actually the first "Cavaliers."

A story typical of the changing times is told by the Duchess how during Newcastle's thrice-delivered attacks to drive Lord Fairfax and Sir Thomas Fairfax from the West Riding, he challenged Lord Fairfax to come and fight a single combat, following "the examples of our heroic ancestors, who used not to spend their time in scratching one another out of holes, but in pitched fields determined their doubts" Lord Fairfax replied by a refusal "to follow the rules of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun, which the declaration seems to affect," but protested his willingness to offer battle whenever he found a suitable opportunity. With these taunts were combined legal arguments on the rights of kings and subjects, the lawfulness of employing Catholics and sectaries, and accusations of plunder and indiscipline against each other's armies.

¹ Of them all, perhaps we admire most the gifted Marquis of Montrose. He was in his day "an accomplished horseman and an adept at every sport which needed a lithe body and a cool head", he learnt to ride at the School of Arms at Angers in France.

² The Duchess also wrote a little book so much ahead of her times that it consisted of "Female Orations," "being a collection of speeches at an imaginary meeting of women on the great question of combining together to make themselves as free, happy and famous as men."

In view of Clarendon's disparagement of the generalship of Newcastle it is difficult now to form an estimate of his military genius, and indeed the accounts of the times are so full of marches and counter-marches, mishaps, surprises and alarms that centralisation of command or anything else was hardly known. The King's own vacillation was largely his undoing in the North as elsewhere. Anyhow, Newcastle for some time maintained troops at his own expense, kept open communications with the Queen in France, sent the King his supplies from abroad and defeated the Fairfaxes several times. In 1643 he was surrounded at York, but the siege was raised by the brilliant dash of Prince Rupert, who threw away that success by engaging the three besieging armies in battle, contrary to Newcastle's wish, and was defeated at Marston Moor.

After this disaster Lord Newcastle gave up the struggle and went overseas, eventually taking up his residence in Antwerp—at the house of Rubens's widow, where he lived in comparative poverty like all the other Royalist exiles. But unlike most of them, though a member of Charles II's Privy Council, he turned his horsemanship to account and established at Antwerp his famous Riding School, and published his first book on Horsemanship, *Methode et invention nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux* (1658), later translated as *A General System of Horsemanship*.

At the Restoration Lord Newcastle regained the greater part of his estates, though burdened with debts—his wife estimating his total losses at £941,000, an enormous sum for those days. Charles II invested him with the Garter, creating him Duke in 1665. He retired, however, from public life and occupied himself with his estate and with his favourite pursuits of breeding and schooling horses. He established a race-course near Welbeck, published another book, *A New Method to Dress Horses* (1667), as well as writing several comedies and translating a play of Molière's with Dryden's assistance. Dying in 1676, the Duke of Newcastle was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Regarding Horsemanship, the Duke seems to have been in a class almost by himself in England and was famous all over the Continent. Mr. Arthur Bryant, who always endeavours to recapture the spirit of history through letters of the day rather than through the jaundiced eye of political historians, writes that "Newcastle was the first master of equitation in his age . . . his power over horses was almost miraculous."

Regarding his system of training, the Duke states in his book that he differed somewhat from Continental ideas on the training of horses. He considered Pluvinal's method of the pillars was "no more than routine . . . and horses are not made to the hand and heel at all with them, nor will they go from the usual

place where they are ridden"—a result which sounds more than probable!

Newcastle's own system was the result of personal experience.

"I have practised," he says, "ever since I was ten years old, have rid with the best masters of all nations, heard them discourse at large and tried their various ways; have read all the Italian, French and English books and some Latin ones and in a word all that had been writ upon that subject good and bad; and have bestowed many thousands in horses, have spoiled many and have been very long learning of this Art of Horsemanship."

This is the admission of a truly great master. Feeling "there was something missing" he eventually worked out his own method; the novelty being that he "followed not the horse's disposition as most do, but made the horse follow my ways and obey them." He seldom punished horses, only when he

"met with a great resistance and that rarely. . . . Certainly there is no horse but will strive to have his own will, rather than to obey your will; nor doth any horse love subjection, nor any other creature, until there is no remedy and then they obey; and the custom of obedience makes them ready horses. They will strive all the ways possibly they can to be free and not subjected; but when they see it will not be, then they yield. . . . No man in the world, no, not the wisest, if he were put in the form of a horse, with his supreme understanding, could possibly find out more subtle ways to oppose a man than a horse will; . . . the horse must know you are his master; that is, he must fear you, and then he will love you for his own sake. Fear is the sure hold, for Fear doth all things in this world, Love little, and therefore let your horse fear you."

Newcastle believed that horses obey through fear of the result of wrong-doing, rather than by "gentleness, flattery, stroking them, or giving them some reward to eat"—as was the French method. Yet: "Truly I never saw any horse in my life, but before he was perfectly dressed would rebel, and extremely too, and a great while before he would go freely."

Newcastle made use of the French cavesson to balance a horse, but he did not use the pillars, and altered the cavesson pressure either by tying the loose ends to the pommel of his saddle or by holding one or other in his hand—his idea being that the horse was prevented from hanging on his bit, his head was kept in the correct position, and it also suppld his shoulders and made him bend nicely to the hand. To make a horse "passage" he tied his head in the correct position with the cavesson and "helped" him with the outer rein. To-day the modern double-bridle, with its cavesson noseband, exhibits a relic from the old Riding School. Of course, the rider's hands were of the greatest importance in

this Art of the *Manège*, being one reason why most School horsemen preferred to make their own horses, and could not ride nearly so well those schooled by others or by a different method: "A light hand is the greatest secret we have."

Newcastle did use a "single pillar" for teaching "airs," but he considered that Pluvinal's method resulted in a horse becoming wooden, doing everything by routine, watching for expected signs and movements, rather than making him sensitive to control by hands and heels. The English expert's first object was to "supple a horse's shoulders" by riding him in circles, large and small, with the cavesson "tied my way"—i.e. the cavesson reins held in the rider's hand, instead of being tied to the pommel as in the preliminary lessons. Newcastle particularly recommends the "*passage*" or "Spanish trot," calling it "the quintessence of working horses in the *manège* and the elixir in horsemanship, for if a horse obeys me perfectly in *passage*, being obedient to my hand and heels, I will make him go on the ground or in any 'air' whatsoever most perfectly, or anything that his strength will permit him to do, and therefore esteem *passage* above all things in the world for the *manège*."¹ Many horses and ponies to-day can be taught the "Spanish trot" fairly easily and will even do it naturally—if without the perfection of the life-long expert; it is interesting that such a great horseman regarded this comparatively easy test within the reach of any of us, such a very important step in the *Manège*.

In *The General System of Horsemanship*, the Duke gives very complete directions as to the dressage of his horses. We need not recapitulate them as they were mostly identical with those on the Continent. Generally he refers to them by their foreign names, instead of as the "rounds and bounds" of Shakespeare, though in describing the *capriole*—that goat-like leap into the air when the horse kicks back—he calls it "yerking out behind," in the same sense as Shakespeare's:

"Yerk out their arm'd heels at their dead masters
Killing them twice."

(Henry V.)

"The round"—Newcastle's circular *corvet*—has passed into the English language as "curvet," describing a prancing horse.

A horse of manage was said to be "dressed" or *dressé*, when fully trained. "The main thing is to be a really good horseman yourself, for horses are easily spoilt and then much more difficult to redress . . . the worse natured jade in the world by nature is much easier dressed and reduced to obedience than a horse that

¹ *Passager* must not be confused with the modern "passage," to move sideways.

has been spoiled and made resty by ill-riding ; so much worse is an ill-custom continued than an ill-disposition by nature.”¹

Newcastle’s horses were made accustomed to almost any sound, or sight, by constant familiarity, “ which was the way to train horses for the Wars. . . . A soldier’s horse must also be taught to leap hedge, ditch and rail.”²

Newcastle was as careful as any expert to-day to make his horses nicely balanced in all paces. To make them light on hand he rode them making them extend and shorten their stride, either fast or slow, stopping and starting—all the time getting their hocks more and more under them, their forehands lighter, their muscles suppled and contracted, never attempting at one time more than a horse was fit for. “ Horses do nothing but by custom and habit, with often repetitions to fortify their memories ; therefore give these good lessons and repeat them often to your horse. I work upon the understanding of a horse rather than the labour of his body, for I assure you he hath imagination, memory and judgment, let the learned say what they please. I work upon those three faculties and that is why my horses go so well ”—as sound advice as when it was written.

Newcastle liked spurs with long necks because “ the rider must move in the saddle as little as possible.” The Duke’s own spurs were of the *à la Comnétable* pattern used in France, the buckles and rowels being of silver, “ because silver does not rust.” The rowels should have six points and be sharp as possible, “ because blunt spurs bruise a horse’s side, and there is nothing like sharp spurs, used discreetly, to make all horses whatsoever know their fear and obey them for until they suffer with obedience the spurs they are but half horses and never dressed.” In his School spurs were used as a correction for wrong-doing, such as when a horse was definitely lazy or slack ; they were to be “ given sharply, but seldom, and upon just occasion.” If a horse rebelled “ against what you would have him do,” he was to be spurred until he obeyed, “ and when he obeys you in the least kind, cherish him and make much of him, light off his back and send him to the stable, and forgive him many faults the next morning, that he may see you have mercy as well as justice, and that you can reward as well as punish.” Spurs were, of course, also an important “ aid ” in various “ airs ” ; after a time the horse responding so quickly that legs alone were sufficient “ aid.” “ There is

¹ And I remember that fine horseman, Mr. Sam Haines—so well known in the Midlands to the last generation—telling me the same difficulty—how people spoilt horses and then sent them back and he had to re-make them, taking three times as long in the process.

² This was once very useful to Prince Rupert, who “ only managed to escape being made a prisoner by putting his horse at a high hedge, which they cleared and got away, while his pursuers were pounded.” (Warburton, *Lives of the Cavaliers*.)

nothing in the world makes horses resty and vicious many several ways like the spurs, given out of time ; and nothing in the world dresses horses perfectly, like the spurs given in time."

Newcastle did not use the *chambrière* ; with him a switch lasted six months, while in the illustrations in Pluvinal's book, assistants are seen carrying them in armfuls as if many were used in the course of a morning ! On this point the Duke held that it was not much good schooling a horse intended for a soldier with a switch, because a soldier has to carry a sword in his right hand, not a switch, but for the *manège* a switch was a useful aid ; or, better still, two switches, one in each hand, to control the parts of a horse's body, telling him when to strike out in front or behind and with which leg. Newcastle also used the voice as an "aid" ; crossly as preliminary to correction, also to teach the horse to go into certain "airs" by word of command.

Newcastle is as particular as Pluvinal regarding "proper equipage" for the horse "afore he is mounted" ; his saddle, bit, cavesson, stirrups and spurs being similar to the French School, with the addition of double-ended girths (such as we use now), and "an Italian surcingle" over the saddle in case of girths breaking. He was not a believer in elaborate bits, "pistol cannons," etc.—using a *scotch* or "cannon à la Pignatel, with *branches* (checks) à la Connétable." Newcastle liked a tight noseband, which made the bit lie in its correct place, the cavesson being always lined with double leather—"I would neither hurt his mouth, nor his nose, nor anything else about him if I could help it." But he thought that unless a horse had been properly ridden with a curb bit he would never go well in a snaffle.

The English School disliked "decorated saddles." Their saddles being of "plain white Spanish leather"—such perhaps as we can see at the Hoffburg Palace to-day—"stitched with silk and studded with silver nails" ; their bridles "were made of soft black leather and not big and clumsy."

For "airs," like the *croupades*, *caprioles* and *balotades*, it was Riding School custom to tie up the horses' tails very short (as can be seen in old prints) like cart-horses to-day. But for horses doing the more practical *Manège de Soldat* or *terra-à-terra* (training "on the ground"), their tails were left flowing to the ground, to show how well the horses got their hocks beneath them—tails being trimmed to fetlocks. On special occasions manes were decorated with ribbons—all of one colour or variegated to choice, which could be plaited into the mane (much as a carter still does his cart-horse on show days) or left flowing, as in plate XIII.

The Duke of Newcastle certainly appears to have known more about the feeding of horses than Pluvinal, and to have taken a greater interest in stable management. The former's horses were

never turned out to grass ; they had to be kept in high condition as the *manège* was very hard work. "Excellent clean oats is the best feeding in the world." His own horses were "never allowed more than two bushels of oats a week to every horse, and it is enough for they look extraordinary well on it." They had a little hay, plenty of wheat straw and occasionally a few peas or old beans—"it is not much food, but the ordering of the diet, that makes horses in health." Which is exactly what one finds to-day with hunters and polo ponies—one head-man who is "a good feeder" makes horses thrive on half the amount that another man thinks it essential to order from corn dealers ; for as in Newcastle's time "some horses are gross feeders and get as fat as stall-fed oxen, while others must be tempted." The stable routine, etc., was similar in many respects to ours. Fresh rye straw was used as litter—"a woollen cloth under the housing cloth" corresponding to our blanket and rug.

Newcastle was particular about shoeing, and I think he must have been the first to write "you must fitt the shoo to the Foot, and not the Foot to the shoo." Also : "Open the heels as much as you can." Of course the veterinary science of the day was very slight. Newcastle mentions peculiar-sounding remedies for equine ills of various kinds, but I doubt if they were more peculiar than some of the patent medicines which grooms to-day are so partial to using ! Newcastle's at least had the merit of being mostly herbal remedies—such, for instance, as honey of roses, conserve of burrage, syrup of violets, buglas water, endive water—which, "well mixed together," he recommends as a refreshing drink for a horse ! Honey added to the horse's oats he gives "for worms, also for a cold and all obstructions" ; while "a pint of new milk, the yolks of three eggs beaten into it, a pennyworth of saffron and two spoonfuls of salad-oil given to him in a horn is an excellent drink for a horse" ; "aloes wrapt up in butter" were the best purge, "lettuces were given to cool him and radishes for the kidneys," carrots with his oats, apples are excellent, or to wash his oats in small beer—these are "the most excellent things in the world ; beyond all the printed books of recipes."

Regarding the general attitude of people in England after the Restoration, it is evident from what the Duke says in his book that many considered the Riding School as "nothing but tricks and dancing and gambols and of no use."

Newcastle considered that "those who spoke against it, spoke from entire ignorance of the science, or from not being good enough riders themselves to profit by the *manège*, while others may regard it as derogatory for a gentleman to take such pains to do a thing well." He points out that "the King himself, his brother the Duke of York (afterwards James II), think it an

honour and no disgrace to be considered very good horsemen ; some of the greatest men in Europe, such as the Duke of Montmorency, Constable of France, and the first Gentleman in Christendom was the best horseman in the world of his day, inventing the best spurs and the best pattern of cheeks for bits called *à la Connétable* after him, and the Prince of Condé was another fine horseman, and the King of Spain." In fact, the author is of the opinion that " he that will not take pains for something shall never do anything well ; for arts, sciences, and good qualities come not by instinct but are got by great labour, study and practice " ; while all those who affect to despise horsemanship only want " something easily learnt—such as the seven deadly sins, swearing, and the wearing of fine clothes and feathers." In his rather stilted but always humorous point of view the Duke is amused at some of his critics trying to ride thus unbalanced horses, and the figures of fun they made, " if nothing worse resulted, such as to require the attentions of the surgeon or a bonesetter." He tried to point out the world of difference between Horsemanship and merely " riding forward on a horse from Barnet to London, which everybody can do "—but some people could not see the difference then—and there are many who fail to do so now also ! Apparently some of the young men were prone to suggest that a horse of *manège* would be playing tricks on the battle-field, " trying ' airs ' instead of staying on the ground "—Newcastle tersely remarks that " even the best horsemen find it difficult to make a horse do ' airs ' at any time, and that after three days' campaigning they will not go in ' airs ' even if you would have them ! "

Manège was to him an Art ; " as for pleasure and state what Prince or Monarch looks more princely or more enthroned than upon a beautiful horse, the rich foot clothes, or rich saddles, and waving plumes making his entry through great cities, to amaze the people with pleasure and delight ? Or, what more glorious or manly than at great marriages of princes, to run at the Ring, or tilt or course in the Field ? What can be more comely or pleasing than to see horses go in their several ' airs,' and to see so excellent a creature with so much spirit and strength to be so obedient to his rider, as if having no will but his, they had but one body and one mind, like a Centaur ? And above all what sets off a king more, than to be on a beautiful horse at the head of his army ? " Somehow, one wonders if the Duke, writing in the autumn of his life, was rather regretting older, spacious days before the Civil Wars, and did he quite approve of Charles II at Newmarket riding " matches " in his shirt sleeves ? He was, however, no stickler for mere etiquette or appearances' sake. Though himself regarding " hunting, hawking, bowling, shooting, coeking, eards and dice as no use, only a pleasure," while a horse of *manège* was

both, he did not commend only those things that were useful, else as he justly remarks, "we would have nothing but hollow trees for houses and fig-leaf breeches for our clothes!" Concluding, he says that even if people do not agree with him about Horsemanship, he "shall sleep never the worse."

Nowadays we often squim at the journalistic statement: "So-and-So was thrown from his mount." The Duke of Newcastle refers to a very similar type of mentality in his day, which makes him remark: "Sitting is but one thing in Horsemanship and there are thousands of things in the Art. . . . I never knew in my life a good horseman thrown, but I have known many presumptuous, ignorant fellows get falls . . . for it is a mistake as ridiculous as it is common to take sitting fast on horseback for the whole art of horsemanship"!

I have devoted much space to the views of the Duke of Newcastle regarding Equitation during a most interesting time in our history. My excuse is that few men had more influence over the rising generation of his day—Prince Rupert, Charles I, Charles II, Duke of Monmouth, James II—to mention but a few among his admirers. Mr. Blundevill, who wrote the *Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship* (1580), and Mr. Markham, who wrote *Cavalrice* (1607)—two well-known books—are often quoted as authorities in later Tudor and Stuart days, whereas in truth they were "better scholars than horsemen," as the Duke of Newcastle naively describes such theorists—true of some to-day! No doubt they helped to popularise the new ideas from the Continent and made people discuss and try their alleged methods, but the Duke wrote from his own practical experience and we may be sure that we owe to him a good deal of the traditional horse-mastership for which the best type of English gentleman began to be famous from his time onwards. To-day we find that much of this old "horse-sense" is being recovered by a new type of horsemen in these Islands and handed on to the rising generation of riders through the Pony Club and Instructors qualified by the Institute of the Horse. Does this portend a revival of interest in dressage "tests" and the *mande* of the horse for pure love of the game?

CHAPTER XI

THE HORSES OF THE STUARTS

"The King, Sir, has wagered with him six Barbary horses."
HAMLET.

I

HARD ON THE HEELS OF INTEREST IN RIDING CAME interest in breeding the right type of horse, but at any time in order to obtain success, experiments in horse-breeding must necessarily extend over a considerable period of time. The span of one man's life is barely long enough to witness the result of his theories and ideas. Therefore the efforts of successive Stuarts, who for four generations loved horses and encouraged their breeding, was of immense benefit and importance; if any one family can be credited with the development of the English light-weight horse the honour must belong to them.

It is a commonly accepted fact that the foundations of the modern blood-horse were laid in the time of the Stuart sovereigns of Great Britain, but the origins of these foundations, the ideas which led up to the development of what was practically a completely new sub-species of Horse, are not generally so well known. The fact is there were no common origins; they are threads plaited in like the straw and coloured ribbons with the silken manes of the favourite riding horses of Stuart England, difficult to trace or unravel. In old books, memoirs, and letters, in heraldry, pictures, and old tombstones, from references in Shakespeare, from legends and ancient songs, we shall discover odds and ends to help piece together a story which can never be told for the reason that no one really knows.

We have laid stress on the fact that from the dawn of history a good type of native horse was ever bred in England—though probably remaining always on the small side for one reason or another, compared to the "hollow pampered jades of Asia." Romans may have introduced what remains to us as the Welsh pony type. Normans certainly introduced bigger horses. Giraldus Cambrensis states that a certain Robert de Belesme brought Spanish stallions to his property, Powysland in Central Wales, in the time of William Rufus—"a Powys horse" appearing

among the purchases of Edward II (1272-1307). The Plantagenets were careful horse-breeders—especially Edward III, who forbade the export of the best stamp of English horse and introduced fashionable Continental blood, particularly the great Flemish horses. Richard II owned “many a good horse of foreign breed,” including the famous “Roan Barbary” whom he “loved as an only son,” and is said to have wished that his army could consist of cavalry only.

In 1330 “Libryt, a dapple grey,” was imported for the Royal Stud at the cost of seventy pounds, while the “Poiners grey with a black head” was worth then one hundred and twenty pounds—sums which on to-day’s value would be multiplied many times. The result proved valuable as chargers or *destriers* for the English men-at-arms of the Middle Ages; who though probably never so numerous as the French Chivalry, individually were a match for them at their own game—witness the greater part of France held for many years by John of Gaunt with relatively a handful of English men-at-arms and English archers, then the daring march of Henry V and the amazing victory of Agincourt over the flower of French Chivalry so greatly in the majority. English-bred horses played their part in these wars, as can be proved by the careful reading of history. Next to English archers the hero of the piece was the English Great Horse, also known as “the Horse of Service in the Wars and the Tourney.”¹ Probably, his sire was one of the imported Flemish or Hainault horses, but he seems to have been out of selected English mares, and though perhaps lacking in size compared to some of the Great Horses on the Continent, certainly made up for this deficiency in stamina, courage, soundness and hardiness. Of course there were prejudices and fashions over the colour of horses. Henry II and Richard I—both knowledgeable—preferred to import chestnut and dark brown stallions, while King John and Queen Elizabeth—neither distinguished as horse-breeders—preferred black ones. King John’s edict that his courtiers should ride only black horses, by the way, was one of the many of his acts quoted against him that led to Runnymede.

Armour was most likely first increased in thickness and plate generally substituted for chain-mail, in order to resist the penetrating head of the arrow of the powerful long-bow. Then when the cross-bow was perfected, armour-plate for man and horse

¹ Tournaments were never so important in England as in France. In 1344 Lord Salisbury was killed in a Tournament held in honour of the Knights of the Round Table at Windsor; and a later Lord Salisbury killed his only son in a joust in 1382. The Tilting Lance of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Earl Marshal of England (d. 1545) can be seen at the Tower of London; also the tilting helm, known as the Brocas helm—English c. 1500 the finest in existence—belonging to H. M. the King.

had to be still further perfected, till both became so heavy that they could not move and, as already stated, resulted in a completely new type of warfare.¹

Heavier and heavier types of horses came to be necessary to carry the increasing armour required both by the man-at-arms and his great horse on the battlefield. It has been estimated that sixteen stone increased in one generation on the Continent, with the added fire power and penetration, till a Great Horse had to go into battle weighed down by twenty-three stone! Flesh and blood—human or equine—could not stand it; what was gained in security was lost in mobility, achieving in the end a completely new technique in warfare, resulting in the *culte* of the light horse, as already stated. The full sixteenth-century armour of horses was called the *panoply*—consisting of the *chanfron* for the head, the *crinet* to protect the mane, the *pleytal* covering the breast, the *flanchard* for the flanks, the *croupière* round the tail. After 1660 horse-armour was discarded piece by piece. "Caparisons" were not horse-armour, but the rich " housings " or decorated coverlets spread right over the horse on State occasions.

It is probable that both with the last and heaviest period, as well as with the first of the new school period, this country was not immediately concerned, for reasons we must just touch on. At the close of the fifteenth century England was involved in that disastrous internecine warfare known as the Wars of the Roses, in which almost every noble family lost its best and proudest sons and completed without serious derangement to the common people the end of Feudalism and Chivalry. In the struggle for a share in the wool trade English sovereigns' territorial claims in France were forgotten, a new middle class evolved rich enough to buy old estates and this class was employed almost exclusively by that astute politician Henry VII as an unpaid Civil Service. New ideas were stirring on the Continent. In England there remained few men born and bred from earliest youth to the management of the Great Horse and full armour; her feudal princes had killed each other almost to extermination—only a handful of the holders of proud names—Talbot, Courtenay, Somerset, Percy, de Vere, Mansel, Nevil, etc., existed to carry on the tradition of proud service to the realm and the " King's Grace," the ancient glory of mediæval heraldry was suppressed—though probably much passed to the new families through the female line and the marriage of an heiress. So it was with the Great Horses as with their masters. The Earl of Warwick's " Black Saladin " was a great horse nearly as famous as his

¹ Armour was worn till the days of Marlborough for protection against swords and pikes.

"king-making" owner; both were killed at the Battle of Barnet.

Old writers state that "the best races of the ancient type of Great Horses in this realm of England decayed mightily in the late troubles"—of Lancaster and York. "Races," in those times, referred exclusively to an individual breed of horses—the result of one breeder's efforts, practically what we might call to-day as "So-and-So's stud." (The word had nothing to do with racing; "racehorse" being used in the same sense as *chien de race et de pur sang*. See page 207).

In pre-Tudor England there had been many famous "races" of the Great Horse, from the King's downwards, relying on a constant admixture of foreign blood. And it should be emphasised that never in England do social customs suffer a complete severance with the past; periods of time constantly overlap. Few people, until well on in Stuart times, visualised the complete extinction of great horses and steel in warfare; the careful breeding of great horses lingered on in many English homes long after "the Court party" was experimenting with new ideas. In the same way that to-day the Cavalry arm is not entirely ousted by armoured cars and tanks.¹

The genius of the Tudors lay in keeping England out of serious Continental entanglements, for three generations "the land had rest." Except for minor expeditions against the Scots or the French or the Irish, British troops fought only on the sea, so that horses, large or small, were not required. British equitation suffered from lack of practice. The practical Tudors, however, did not allow the great horse to die out entirely; Henry VIII encouraged his breeding, and though Queen Elizabeth's thoughts were all at sea the great horse lingered on into the succeeding reign as "the horse of ceremony." When a personage came to a town he often changed off his "ambling nag" and made a State entry on his smart "trotting horse"—sometimes referred to as a "clothsell or footcloth horse," because of the trappings² worn down to his feet, well known to us from the pictures of the day. From this idea came the domestic "clothes-horse"!

It is likely that old-fashioned and worn-out "great horses" were reduced eventually to performing as "cloths horses" for the pomp and pride of some great man desirous to impress the populace. In the *Northumberland Household Books* (1590) such a horse is mentioned in the stable accounts of the day, as also in the Berkeley papers of the same date.

¹ Horses were used by the modern Italian conquerors of Abyssinia as the horse of ceremony in the review of the army at Addis Abbaba (May 20, 1936)

² A "barded" horse meant one so caparisoned, from the French *bardé*.

To-day the Clydesdale in Scotland and the Suffolk Punch in England approximate most nearly to the Great Horse of the late Middle Ages. Without doubt the Clydesdale especially contains quite a lot of the blood of the war-horse of our mediæval ancestors, and if one can visualise the charge of one thousand Clydesdales armed cap-à-pied, lances in rest, pennons flying, battle-axes bumping at saddle-bows—one can imagine that few "wretched footmen" would tarry to try foregone conclusions.

II

Spanish genets and Barbs could waltz round the clumsy Great horses. With the fashion for horses of Manage, the German and Dutch horses, "more meet for the shock than to pass a career," ceased to be imported. To-day the Percheron and the Jutlander represent most nearly the Flemish type of great horse; Newcastle states that on the introduction of coaches the Dutch gelded so many of their best horses and sold them to go abroad that their breed practically died out. Thus it was when Oliver Cromwell formed his Ironsides—the most formidable weapon the world had seen since the introduction of the chariot—he dealt a final blow to the use of great horses. Probably the last representation of the great horse of ceremony is the statue of King William IV in Dublin, riding what is presumably a great Dutch horse.

Of course the Great Horse had always been kept "for Service in the Wars and the Tournament only"; hence the old writers refer to him as the Horse of Service. A knight would as soon have dreamt of using the Great Horse for any other purpose, as an owner to-day would think of hacking or hunting the favourite for the Derby! As ordinary conveyances, English gentlemen had always used the "well known little English nag." It is from among these rather than from the Great Horse, that we must look for some of the origins of the modern thoroughbred horse—such perhaps as the "white hobby" on which Edward III rode round his army on the morning of Crècy before ordering the famous "grey-goose feathers, which whistled through the air, thick and fast," says the old chronicler, "like storms of snowflakes, falling in every direction."

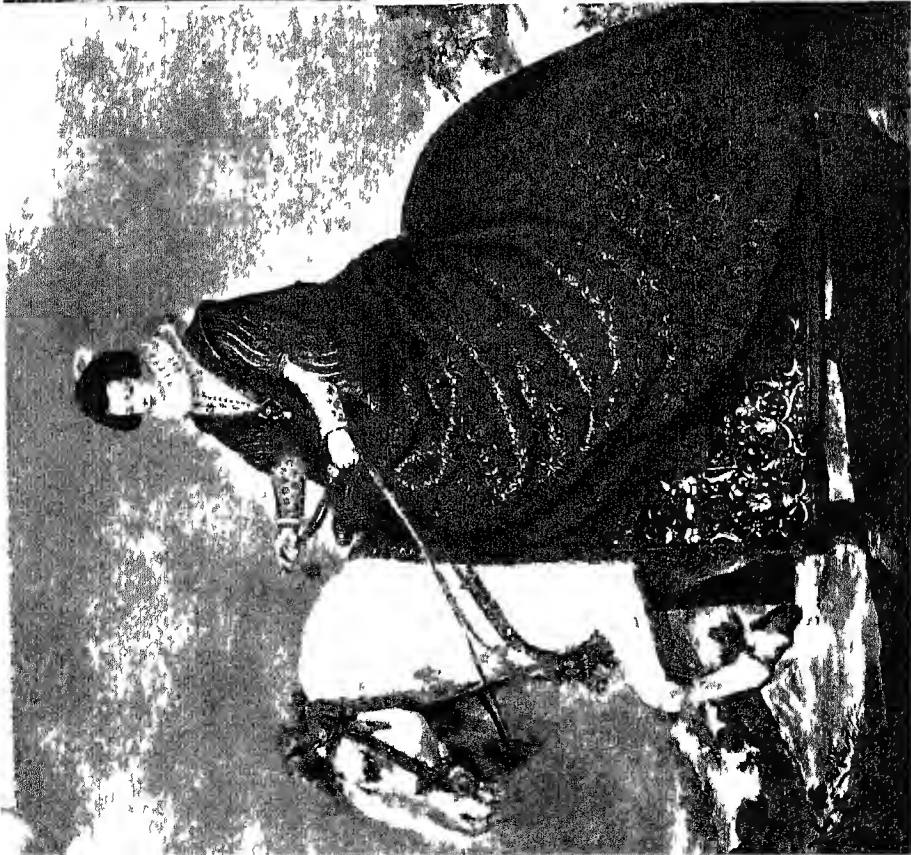
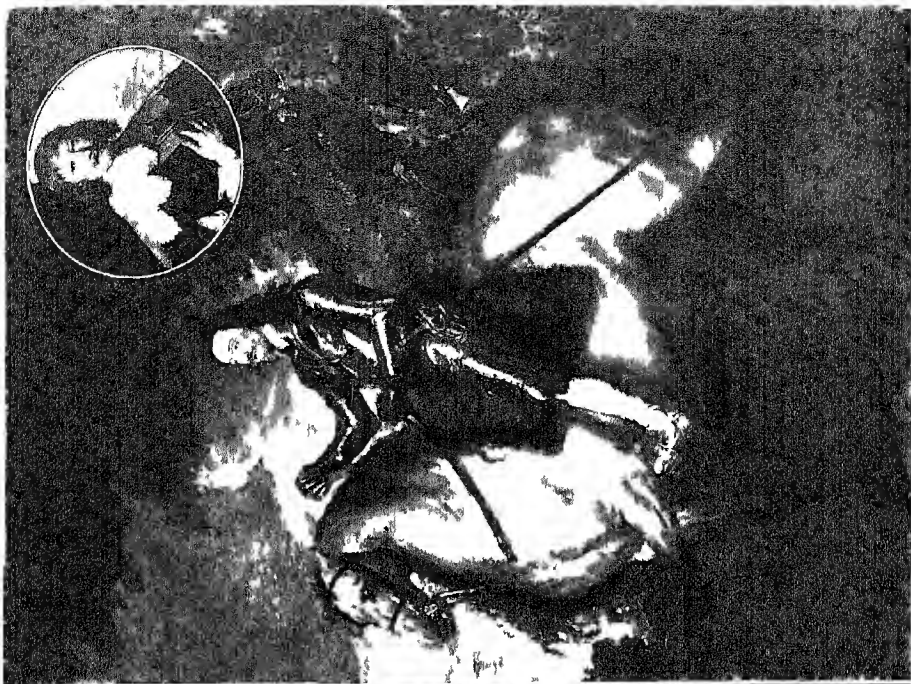
At the beginning of the Tudor period there was little known about riding in England. Henry VII commanded that his horse for some ceremonial ride through London should go unfed for twenty-four hours—suggesting that he was not "a strong tilter"—like his young relative, the Earl of Worcester—nor knowledgeable about horses, like his son the future Henry VIII.

In early Tudor days native English horses had certainly deteriorated, probably owing to the aforementioned loss of the

*Seventeenth-century Spanish rider.
Don Baltasar Carlos in the Riding
School (Velasquez, 1599-1690).*

(Wallace Collection by permission.)





best horses and most knowledgeable breeders in the Wars of the Roses. It was really not surprising that stock of any kind should deteriorate owing to the haphazard ideas and complete lack of any system of breeding. Of course in an open field country, as England then was, it was difficult to regulate breeding, even if the knowledge and better strains had been available. As in Albania in 1924 I saw cattle running wild without control for breeding, so in these islands down to Stuart times troops of horses roved the downs, commons and hills, branded perhaps with the initial of their owners and rounded up at irregular intervals. Horses were got in when they were required, probably by driving them into some home-pasture, or stock-yard—much after the fashion in Australia and the Argentine to-day where on stations and *estancia* horses range “wild”—mares with foals, yearlings, two-year-olds, etc. In Australia, as in the Argentine, young horses are lassoed or “yarded” to be branded and gelded, but under the conditions of Tudor England, with an unreliable climate as well as seasonal and political upheavals, it was unlikely much was done—anyhow, in a systematic way. “The great decay of the breeding of good and swift and strong horses” was so deplored by Henry VIII that he made it illegal to keep stallions under the height of 15 hands, or mares under 13—a low enough standard in all conscience, but believed to have been the first effort at controlling the breeding of English horses. Henry VIII forbade the export of English-bred horses and ordered that all men whose wives wore “any gown of silk or any French hood or bonnet” must maintain at least one horse “mete for the saddle”! A visitor in 1602 wrote: “The horses are small and fleet”; we gather that there were plenty of them “for hunting and hawking naggcs and for ambling roadsters”; Gervase Markham says that “the true English horse—him I mean that is bred under a good clime on firm ground in a pure temperature—is of tall stature and large proportions”; but from all accounts one fancies that the great majority of horses in the British Isles at that time were running wild on sedgy commons and rough hills—good for wind and feet perhaps, but not for size or sound limbs. And Blundevill, the author of *The Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship*, in his preface suggests that “noblemen and gentlemen of this realm having parks or grounds impaled meet for such use, might not wholly be employed to the keeping of deer, which is altogether a pleasure without profit, but partly to the necessary breeding of horses for service”—an idea which Henry VIII had endeavoured to put into practice. As the companies of mares roving over the unenclosed country had been known as “studs,” the parks eventually kept for breeding became “stud farms,” but the special breed was still the “race.” One of the most successful breeders

Seventeenth-century riders and horses.

(Left-hand picture) *Queen Isabella of Spain (by Velasquez).*

(Prado, Madrid)

(Right-hand) *Sir William Cavendish, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, owner of Welbeck.*

(By permission of the Duke of Portland, K G)

(Inset) *Charles I (by Vandyck).*

(Wallace Collection by permission)

was Thomas Wolsey, afterwards all-powerful Cardinal and the foremost man of the realm. He was first notable as a brilliant horseman of the *Manège* in the time of Henry VII, but later in life, probably owing to increased weight, he had to give up riding, and turned to breeding. It is said that his stud—which included many Eastern sires—was the most perfect “race” hitherto established in England, and that his knowledge of horse ailments was unrivalled and often placed at the disposal of those with sick horses. (*Royal Studs*, C. M. Prior.)

In Tudor times all travellers and most goods were conveyed on horseback; during Stuart days for the most part country districts in England remained much as they had been. In summer it was fairly easy as a rule to get about, but for the greater part of the year many of the roads were little better than cart-tracks, impassable save for the pack-horse or the “roadster,” and even at the best of times the pre-macadam roads were rough and uneven. The traveller who had to journey many weary miles under such conditions was thankful of a “sure-footed nag” and if he was an “ambler” so much the less tiring.

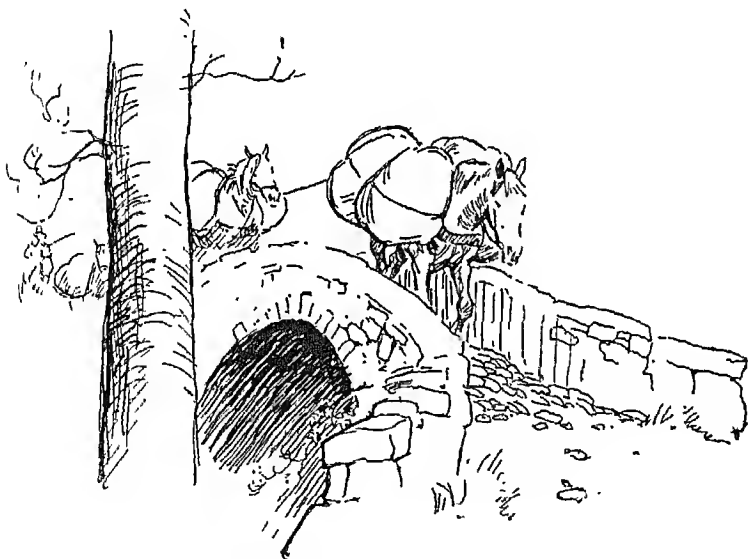
Most people know that “ambling” is an artificial gait, easily taught to most short-backed, small, well-made horses and ponies, and a few do it naturally. The amble is a half-trot, half-canter action—not to be confused with pacing, which consists in moving both the legs of the one side together alternatively, like a camel, instead of in succession as in ordinary movement. In the East, where long journeys on horseback are still necessary, most of the riding ponies amble; anyone who has enjoyed a two-hour ride at this gait and compared it with a similar “trot” will appreciate Blundevill, the Elizabethan who wrote: “If you take away the ambling horse, you take away the horse for the old man, the rich man, the weak man, nay generally all men’s travels.” “Sir,” said Shakespeare’s Benedick to Claudio, “your wit ambles well; it goes easily.” And Rosalind in *As You Like It* expressed the general sense of the riders of her day when she noted as “wearisome the hard pace of the trotting horse.” Certain men went about the country training horses to amble. For instance, in the Berkeley Papers (1559-1613) is the following entry in the accounts: “Given in reward to Robert Grey for making of Grey Leigh to amble.” Also, in the Household Inventory of the fifth Duke of Northumberland (1514): “An ambling horse for his lordship to journey on daily. . . . A proper little nagg for his lordship when he goeth on hunting or hawking.”

The amble which had lasted in England since Roman days has practically died out in this country to-day, though it is well known in India, Canada, the Argentine, etc., where one has to

ride long distances—and the “twopence three-ha’pence” is very easy to both horse and rider.

As the country became better drained, forests retreated, and the country became more open, Hunting *par force* was tentatively carried on in the old way but necessarily more in the cultivated country comprising new ditches, drains and fences. Here and there people began to ride to hounds. Not very fast or very hard belike, but very pleasantly, and what more likely than that they took to riding their best ambling-nags across this cleared country, or that these sure-footed, good-tempered, keen, hardy, well-made little horses were good hunters?

The worst and most uncomfortable were made into pack horses; long strings of which must daily have been a common



A pack-horse bridge at Horner, Somerset.

The horses are shown carrying wools; they are tied head to tail.

sight along all the country roads in England laden with rich stuffs and produce from Overseas, taking wool to market, and all the varied paraphernalia required to be carried between town and town, county and county in Great Britain. A pack-horse had to be sure-footed, docile, and if he had a round dumpling back so much the better. There are pack horse trails still to be seen in England—on the Hampshire Downs and in Yorkshire Wolds; there are Inns, such as the “Nag’s Head” at Cirencester, the “Pack Horse” at Corsham, the “Wool Pack” at Egham. In unfrequented ways there are little narrow, hump-backed stone

bridges still called the "Pack Horse Bridge" (there is one on Inglestone Common near Lower Woods in the Duke of Beaufort's country). On the borders of Wales, Monmouthshire, Shropshire, in most of the so-called provincial hunting countries of England, Wales and Scotland traces of the old pack-horse breeds can be seen in hardy mares—trotting farm-floats to markets, and carrying sporting owners to hounds or breeding a likely youngster for the local Show.

The modern type of heavy draft horse had no place among the horses of the Stuarts, for the simple reason that there were few carts to pull because the roads were not good enough. The heavy "Shires" are as modern a production relatively as the "blood-horse"—though both progenitors on the female side very likely trace back to the best blood in the British Isles of the Tudor-Stuart period. Queen Elizabeth in later life had been apt to use horse-drawn conveyances (pulled at the walk) for her luggage, but carriages were not general till after the accession of James I and were little used outside towns. Their immediate popularity resulted in a Bill before Parliament "to restrain the excessive use of coaches"—the Stuarts had their traffic problems! A further result of the introduction of carriages was the demand created for a quick, light but strong horse—which would develop into the Yorkshire coach-horse, later famous throughout Europe. At first on the Continent a good type of coach-horse evolved, for the most part heavier than the English. There were good Danish and Swedish coach-horses; for instance, the famous team of eight presented to the King of Spain by the eccentric Christina, Queen of Sweden, herself a fine rider and judge of horses.¹

Newcastle says that he saw this team which "surpassed any that ever I saw; their colours 'Isabels,' with long white manes, tails and topplings—it was a kingly present—fit for such a queen to present and for so great a king to receive." Cromwell, anxious to propitiate such an important young lady, sent her a team of English coach-horses, reputed to have been very handsome if rather small, dark bay geldings with black points. After the Restoration coaches became still more popular in England, increasing the demand for suitable horses, the best of which, even then, came from Yorkshire, where by the time of the last reigning Stuart Queen Anne, the Cleveland Bay became firmly established in time for the Coaching Age.

Gradually, as the new ideas about riding filtered into England,

¹ Queen Christina rode and hunted like a man. She made an astounding entry into Paris "clad from head to foot in scarlet, and had black plumes in her hat. She rode astride on a magnificent white horse, richly caparisoned with gold and silver—a cane in her hand and pistols slung from her saddle bow; and more than a thousand horsemen formed her escort." (*Court of Christina of Sweden* by Francis Gribble.)

the new type of light-weight horse was introduced from the Continent, coming to be used first as a "courser" for the fashionable games of tilting, riding at the ring, "running a course," showing off and other "war-like exercises," which eventually led to the *Manège*. Henry VIII undoubtedly obtained stallions and a few mares from Naples and Spain. Charles V sent him "25 beautiful Spanish horses." Tutbury, in Staffordshire, was added to Hampton Court as a "stud-farm," then Cole Park near Malmesbury—part of the great Abbey whose lands were taken by the King at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. (*Royal Studs* by Miss C. M. Prior.) Thus evolved an English-bred horse whose proper "management" would pass into the dictionary to express a thing as controlled with a light hand, and whose training became a skilled art that would make or mar the reputation of a gentleman for a hundred years at least.

We can get some sort of idea of this horse from the contemporary description of him by Shakespeare, who puts into the mouth of the Dauphin in *Henry V*:

"I will not change my horse with any that treads but on four pasterns. Ça ha! He bounds from the earth as if his entrails were hairs, le cheval volant, the Pegasus, chez les narines de feu! When I bestride him, I soar, I am a hawk; he trots the air, the earth sings when he touches it; the basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipes of Hermes. . . . He is indeed a horse; and all other jades you may call beasts. . . . It is the prince of palfreys."

(*Henry V.*)

This could not refer to an English "ambling nag," nor to any great horse however bred: it was one of the new horses and he may well have been an Italian, a Spanish, a Barb, a French or even Dutch horse; but he was most certainly not an Arabian as the first pure-bred Arab horse said to have been seen in England was imported in 1616, the year Shakespeare died. And when looking for lighter, faster, quicker horses to fit the new Italian ideas of warfare, what more likely than that they should come at first from Italy? Henry VIII undoubtedly imported some Neapolitan stallions, and more important still, some mares "perfect in shape and size" sent to him by Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua—who bred horses at Mormolata on Lake Mincio and whose "race" was of such renown that England and France competed for them. Francis I rode "a Mantuan courser" on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Blundevill mentions the "Neapolitan and the Sardinian," which from "their gentle nature and docility, their comely shape, their strength, their courage, their sure-footmanship, their well reining, their lofty pace, their clean trotting, their strong galloping and their swift running, they excel

numbers of other races, even so far as the fair greyhound the foul mastiff curs." And later the Duke of Savoy—whose wife, being the daughter of Philip II of Spain—had valuable horses, of which the famous Spanish Royal stud at Cordova was the foundation. Also Sardinia and Corsica had good breeds of horses which are often mentioned by the old authors.

It is said that the Neapolitan horses were similar to the famous Spanish "genets," but bigger and with paces similar to their Moorish contemporaries in Northern Africa. The "Neapolitans" were said to take longer to mature than horses of other races, being best when put into training at six or seven years old and then maintaining their perfection considerably longer than other horses.¹

But in his day the Duke of Newcastle was writing: "the Italian courser was mightily decayed"—probably owing to the incessant warfare among the various Italian States, and the selling of the best "races" to go abroad. The true breed is now extinct, though most of the present-day "Lippizanners" at the *Spanische Reitschule* are undoubtedly descended partly from these Italian horses.

Definitely, there must be some Italian blood left in England still, but on the whole we look to others for the better part of the foreign infusion, especially in the time of the first two Stuarts.

In the preface to *A New Method to Dress Horses* the Duke of Newcastle tells of the good horses he owned in his Antwerp School:

"Poor as I was in those days, I made shift to buy at different times five Barbs, five Spanish horses and many Dutch horses, all the most excellent horses that could be, and among them a grey leaping horse, the most beautiful that ever I saw . . . the Duke of Guise would give me six hundred gold pieces for him. But he was dead three days before I received their letter. And had he lived I would not have taken any money for him, for he was above price; and besides, I was then too great a beggar to think to be made rich by the sale of a horse. I have bestowed thousands of pounds in horses, and have ridden many; but never was a good horse-coper, selling being none of my professions."

For successful breeding the Duke recommended the Spanish, the Barb, the English and the Arabian. To take them in his order:

(i) The SPANISH—which, "if well chosen, is the noblest horse in the world . . . the most beautiful that can be, for he is not so

¹ It is still a characteristic of certain strains of thoroughbred horses to-day to take much longer to develop than others; is it too much to suggest that this peculiarity may date back to a cross of Neapolitan blood?

thin and lady-like as the Barb, nor so gross as the Neapolitan. He is of great spirit and of great courage and docile, hath the proudest walk, the proudest trot and the best action in his trot ; the loftiest gallop, the swiftest careers and is the lovingest and gentlest horse and fittest of all for a King in a day of Triumph . . . much more intelligent than even the best Italian horses, and for that reason not the easiest dressed, because they observe too much with their eyes, and their memories are too good." They made " absolutely the best stallions in the world to breed horses for War, Manège, Ambling pad-horses, and for running horses " (i.e. true race-horses), and he mentions the English-bred " Conqueror " as being by a Spanish horse, also " Shotten Herring " and " Butler," while " Peacock " was out of a Spanish mare—all these being race horses that " no horse ever ran near."

They were all small, but well made, up to weight, with very beautiful small heads, perfectly put on. They had exceptionally good legs, firm flat bone, and excellent feet—characteristic of their descendants, the " Lippizaners," whose Spanish blood is said to come from three colts and twenty-four mares from Andalusia in the time of Charles V. (*Royal Studs*, C. M. Prior.)

The most highly prized Spanish horses of Stuart days came from the Royal Stud at Cordova, where the King of Spain had about three hundred mares ;¹ but elsewhere in Spain there were " other excellent races, not only of noblemen, but also of private gentlemen." Spanish horses were very expensive. Lord Clarendon—Lord Chancellor, author of the " Papers " and formerly British Ambassador to Spain—wrote that three hundred and four hundred *pistols* was not an uncommon price for a Spanish horse, one called " Il Bravo " belonging to the Arch-duke Leopold being worth as much as a manor of a thousand gold crowns a year.²

This was the type of horse Shakespeare described :

" So did this horse excel a common one
In shape, in courage, colour, pace and bone.
Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long,
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostril wide,
High crest, short ears, straight legs, and passing strong,
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide :
Look what a horse should have, he did not lack."

(*Venus and Adonis*.)

And in the Prado Museum in Madrid we can see the pictures of him painted by Velasquez. (See Plate XX.)

¹ The Spanish Royal Stud at Cordova and Andalusia, also called " The Valenzuela," is said to have been descended from a famous Barb horse called " The Gusman "—whose history is given in *The Royal Studs* (C. M. Prior, 1935)—and some " fine " Andalusian mares.

² In the time of Philip II Spanish horses were spoilt by crossing them with Italian, Norman, Dutch and Danish horses to increase the size for heavy coaches.

His English prototype is seen in the equestrian portrait by Vandyke of Charles I in the Wallace Collection ; which surely gives us an idea of the majesty of the horse " fittest for a king." And again we can examine him in the, to my mind, most beautiful riding statue in England, the Whitehall bronze by the Frenchman Le Sueur (1633) of Charles I—who, remember, was one of the finest horsemen of his day.

Spanish horses were by no means all for show. To know what these horses could accomplish we should read the letters of Cortez, and of the Conquest of Mexico and South America—above all, Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham's absorbing *The Horses of the Conquest* : " After God we owe it to the horses," wrote the greatest *Conquistador*. To-day the Pampa horse, the Mexican, the Texan *broncho*, the horse of the Venezuelan *llanos* and the Indian pony of the North, all descend from the horses brought to the American continent by the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. The natural life of the *pampas*, *llanos* and prairies have altered the type without doubt when all breed freely without the selection of man, so that these descendants of Spanish horses have developed characteristics in the course of centuries very different from the stabled type of horse. Certainly he has lost in size, as may be seen in horse-shoes of the time of the Conquest, and perhaps in appearance, but he is just as enduring and as game. To-day " the cattleman's horse of the Americas is generally a compact and short-legged animal, rather heavy in the shoulders, that have become developed by the necessity of jumping quickly off the mark in cattle working. The marches that the horses of the Conquest performed show them to be animals of great stamina, especially as they had to bear the weight of men half-sheathed in armour, armed to the teeth, and with no doubt a cloak and rations piled upon their backs. Their stamina they gave to their descendants, for an ordinary cattle-pony throughout America, with nothing but the grass he can pick up when his day's work is done, can do as long a day's journey as any of the recorded marches made by the horses of the *Conquistadors*." (R. B. Cunninghame Graham.) When Cortez set out to conquer Mexico in 1519 he took with him eleven horses and five mares, only two of which were real jennets or finely bred.

Spanish horses of the best type probably died out through thus having the best of the breed constantly exported overseas—as with the Spaniards themselves. Lord Ribblesdale, in *Memoirs* (writing about 1895), says the Spanish horse of his day, on which he went hunting while at Gibraltar, " takes little or no personal interest in the Chase . . . he has never got away from his national type, the type we see in Velasquez's paintings. He stands away behind and under in front, his shoulders look bad and ride bad . . . your

breast-plate rests on a swelling bosom, the reverse of sympathetic to a judge of horseflesh. . . . He is companionable and sensible as a poodle and won't really shut up. Very fond of his home he will go there as fast as you please, always feed up, and his legs, if you buy anything like the right quality, won't fill."

To-day with the Royal Calpé Hunt, run by the garrison at Gibraltar, one can catch a gleam of the past.

"It is interesting to witness the Farmers' Race with the riders, complete in *sombres* and national costume, under the exuberating influence of the rich wine of the country (provided by the garrison) and mounted on the self-same sort of prancing nag on which one sees Philip IV painted by Velasquez. They start when they feel inclined and finish when they have had enough, so that the judge has to keep moving about; it is all very mediæval and picturesque but very funny! The native Spanish horse of to-day is but a shadow of his former self, like the grandeurs and splendours of sixteenth-century Spain." (*From a recent letter.*)

The only horses of the ancient Spanish type nowadays are those Lippizaners at Vienna to which we have referred. It was a Hapsburg, a son of the Emperor Ferdinand I, who, after the example of many of his contemporaries and other members of his House, originated a stud-farm for horses of *Manège* at Lippiza near Trieste, which proved such an excellent site for horse-breeding, owing to favourable climatic and geological conditions, that it has remained famous to this day. For three hundred years it has provided the celebrated "race" of horses for the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. Except that a very fine pure-bred Arabian horse called "Sigslavy" was used to change the blood about a hundred years ago, the Lippiza horses have remained pure-bred to the original stock. Consequently, the Lippizaner to-day represents most clearly the horse of *Manège* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He is absurdly like the horses painted by Velasquez or even Dürer. The Lippizaner is descended from Spanish and Moorish stock—with a strong dash of Italian strain. To-day the Lippizaners are bred at Piper in Austria, because Lippiza, with the surrounding Trieste country, was ceded to Italy under the terms of the Versailles Treaty. The Italians got many of the best horses, but devoted Austrians managed to save the rest of the stud and to maintain the Spanish School at Vienna when all the other Imperial institutions lapsed with the fall of the Empire amid revolution, famine, financial disaster and the chaotic conditions of Central Europe after the War.

Lippizaners which inherit the true Spanish strain are said to show the greatest intelligence, with very good memories and are most keen, industrious and persevering in their School work,

taking a delight in carrying out their elaborate and difficult programmes.

(ii) The BARB is placed by Newcastle as next to the Spanish horse in intelligence, "but not near so wise, which makes him much easier to be 'dressed'; besides, he is of a gentle nature, docile, nervous and light." It is difficult to-day to appreciate what "the Barb" of Stuart days really was: "Barbary" being still loosely applied to anything not specifically European¹ Barbs to-day are not a very characteristic type, containing every assortment of size and shape "not well-bred enough looking to call an Arab," but the French are endeavouring to establish the typical breed at various studs in their African Colonial Empire. The so-called typical "Barb" or "ram's head" is characteristic of the ancient breed, and we can recognise the type in many well-bred horses to-day—blood-stock, steeple-chasers and hunters.¹

Newcastle says the Barb was "slender and lady-like, and is so lazy and negligent in his walk, as he will stumble on a bowling green; he trots like a cow and gallops low, and no action in any of these actions . . . excellently winded, for the most part of good disposition, very apt to learn, and when wakened no horse goes better in the *Manège* and all airs." Barbs then cost about twenty-five to thirty pounds, and there was their carriage by sea to England. The Duke said: "Many were sold which were not true Barbs at all," and he did not advise them for sires as commonly they got "long, loose stock, with low spirits"—perhaps the origin of some of our less good hunters to-day. When asked to give a show for the famous Prince Don Juan of Austria, Newcastle states that he "rode first two of his Spanish horses and then a Barb."

It is probable that Barbs, like Italian horses, had suffered by the middle of the seventeenth century from over-popularity. The French, in the time of Louis XIII and XIV, following de Pluvinal, always liked Barbs, as they do to this day.

(iii) Native ENGLISH horses. The Duke of Newcastle wrote: "Certainly the best English horses make perfect horses for hunting or riding and to hawk, and some are as beautiful horses as can be anywhere, for they are bred out of all the horses of all nations. In general, less wise than the Barb, fearful and skittish, for the most part, and dogged and rebellious to the *Manège*, and not commonly apt to learn. . . . Choose a short truss'd horse, with good feet and legs, full of spirit and action, and lively; and if he leap of himself so much the better." We learn that the best

¹ During the Roman occupation of Britain the Crispinian Legion mounted on Barb stallions was stationed at Doncaster.

places to buy this type of horse were at Melton Fair or Ripon in Yorkshire ; and so say all the old writers, including Shakespeare.

Of English stallions by the time of the Restoration Newcastle had a poor opinion—the “ good races ” had all been ruined in the Civil Wars, and “ the new people ” had not the knowledge to breed rightly or could not afford the cost. “ For though every man pretends to it yet, I assure you, there are very few that know horses, as I have heard the King (Charles II) say, since whose Restoration the probability of getting good breeds again is very great.” This prophecy was indeed amply fulfilled.

For native English mares Newcastle had nothing but praise. Nowadays, in all breeding, greater significance is being given to the female line—whether for cattle, milk-records, pigs, foxhounds or race-horses, “ mother’s daughter ” is now regarded as of great importance in maintaining strains. So it is fortunate that until after the days of Newcastle, mares had always been kept home as breeding stock—therefore best strains were preserved in spite of the troubles and War. The mares Newcastle liked for breeding had “ fine forehands, but not too long necks, fine heads and well set on, and their necks rightly turned, broad breasts, good eyes and great bodies ; they must have good hooves, short and bending pasterns and are to be short from head to croup, and stuffy.” They were destined for the *Manège*, but the description fits a useful type of hunter brood mare to-day.

Old writers credit the “ Irish hobby ” as being the most comfortable “ little ambling nag ” possible. To-day in Southern Ireland there is still a type of well-made little horse, invariably dark brown in colour, locally known as a “ hobby.” Tradition connects this sort of “ big little one ” with Spanish horses saved from the wreck of the Armada. Historically, this is unlikely, though horses safely landed from other Spanish or Portuguese wrecked ships are quite a possible occurrence and may account for the stuffiness, hardness, leaping power, and occasional obstinacy of the breed ! Their origin may be much older. The curious thing is that their colour is invariably dark brown to black. It has been pointed out by scientists interested in breeding that the earliest known breeds of all domestic animals in the British Isles were black—cattle, sheep, pigs, dogs—and so possibly also the horses. Are not Shetland ponies generally black or dark brown ? Anyhow the Irish “ hobbie ” in Stuart days was a very well-established breed ; you will continually come across references to him in old books—and always in complimentary terms. Anne of Denmark, consort of James I, sent with twenty couple of hounds a present of six “ hobbies d’Irelande ” to Louis XIII in 1618. (M. de Ligneville.) Many selected English and Irish hobby mares were crossed with Barbs in Henry VIII’s days ;

the results being much commended by Blundevill for "such extreme exercises as to gallop the buck or follow a long-winged hawk," and Holingshead writes: "The Irish hobbie is easy in ambling and very swift in running." The very word "hobbie" or "hobby" has passed into the English language as a term for a pleasant and favourite occupation—a hobby. The hobby-horses of childhood have lent a charming simile connecting the first pacing chargers of the nursery with the favourite amblers of the Tudors.

(iv) The ARABIAN. We have already referred to the mystery which surrounds the origins of the so-called "Arabian horse"—a blood which had been early introduced into these islands and remains in the "Celtic fringe" to-day, though largely swamped by the bigger, hardier, coarser Asiatic type of horse. So unreliable a guide are names and words down the course of ages, that, though on paper there is no evidence that "a true Arabian" was introduced into England before Stuart times, we can be fairly sure that among the many stallions imported by Romans, Normans, Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns, there was surely some of this better blood, though it was called Eastern, Spanish, Barb or Italian.

James I, probably under the influence of his favourite Buckingham, an enthusiast over Eastern blood, was instrumental in buying the first so-called "Arabian horse" imported into England, by a traveller and merchant, a Mr. Markham, and after him called the "Markham Arabian." At that time the value of "a true Arabian" was "an intolerable and incredible price." The Arabs definitely then, as later, would not part with their treasures for any money offered them—not only sentiment, but life and death in the desert was bound up with their horses, and the equivalent in cash relatively useless.

"My beautiful ! my beautiful ! that standest meekly by
With thy proudly arched and glossy neck, and dark and fiery eye !
Fret not to roam the desert now with all thy winged speed ,
I may not mount on thee again—thou'rt sold, my Arab steed !"

(HON. MRS. NORTON, 1807-1877.)

Moreover, the difficulties and dangers of getting such a rare and valuable horse to England via Constantinople and across the always-warring elements comprising the disintegrating Empire, were almost unsurmountable. Consequently, Arabian horses were only known by hearsay and "there were the strangest reports in the world of those horses and though everyone was ready to believe that the Arabian horse, if imported to England, would improve our breed," yet the appearance of the "Markham Arabian" was a bitter disappointment to the New School, as

well as perhaps a prime satisfaction to those who are always ready to affirm that there is "nothing better than what came out of England."

The Duke of Newcastle says that "he was a bay, little and no rarity for shape, for I have seen many English horses far finer." Possibly the best judges of the day would not have thought much of the purest and best Arabian had they seen one, for such horses are not the type for the *Manège* and racing was in its infancy in the time of James I; the day of the Great Horse was not quite over. The fact is there is considerable doubt now, as then, whether the "Markham Arabian" was a true Arabian. The small bay horse was beaten by all the horses he raced against and proved valueless at stud. The champions of "pure Arab" blood suggest that "the wisest fool" was mistaken in buying this horse for "an Arabian," Mr. Markham traded in Constantinople and the horse was more likely either "a Turk," or half-bred Arab.

Blundevill mentioned "the Turk" first in his list of riding horses, while Newcastle wrote: "Some commend the Turk very much for the stallion to breed running-horses, but they are so scarce and rare that I can give no judgment on them and therefore I advise you to the Barb which I believe is much the better horse to breed running-horses." No one knows quite what "Turks" were. They may well have been looted Barbs or possibly Arabians, got in some fashion. All we know for certain is that the Turks¹ treasured good horses and only parted with them at great price.

Newcastle says that the "Turks" he saw were "fine sorts of horses with heads like a camel: they had excellent eyes, thin necks, somewhat great bodies, the croup like a mule's, legs not great but marvellously sinewy, good pasterns and good hooves: and their backs risen somewhat like a camel." Can this be the origin of "roach-backed" horses? Later "Turks" may have been "Arabians"; some were brought here after the defeat of the Turks in Austro-Hungary and Prince Eugene's victory at Belgrade in 1717.

Pure-bred "Arabians" were, and are, generally bay in colour, with black manes and tails, but most of them have white on the head or legs and white flecks. They are never pie-bald or parti-coloured, like mustangs and bronchos, and black generally means a cross of Turkish blood. Bay colour changing to white, genetically

¹ Tamalane distributed five thousand Arab mares among the Turkomans. In Eastern Tartary to-day there is still evidence of better-bred, dark-coloured horses with white or grey feet and grey manes and tails—grey hairs are a mark of good blood in certain of our best-bred hunter and steeple-chase horses to-day.

seems to be the primitive colour which recurs again and again in spite of breeding attempts to produce white or black ; bay is no doubt the most protective desert colour, as evidenced by the gazelle, jackal, lion and other desert animals.¹

And here we might point out a rather interesting fact that one comes across in old books—how English horse-breeders named horses by referring to their colour and place of origin : like, " Grey Aconbury " and " Grey Leigh " (mentioned in the *Berkeley Papers*) ; " Black Agnes " (from " Agnes of Dunbar ") ridden by Mary Queen of Scots ; " White Surrey," " Grey Clifford," " White Dacre " and " Roan Barbary " of Shakespeare. This remained the custom in England for three hundred years, with names like " the Markham Arabian," " Place's White Turk," etc.² Gradually the foreign custom of " appropriate " names crept in—" *Altobello* " and " *Gouvernante* " being two of Henry VIII's best Italian horses. Newcastle gives a list of names " suitable for the new horses of *Manège*," which, after the Continental custom, were " majestic names suitable to horses of quality"—such as *Rubicano*, *Argentino*, *Diamante*, *Genette*, *Capitano*, *Malatesta*, *Emperatore*, *Illustrissimo* for Italian and Spanish horses ; *Galliard*, *Bonite*, *La Perfection*, *Isabelle d'Espagne*, *Le Petit Barbe*, *Le Grande Barbe*, *Le Turc*, *Le Hober*, *Le Superbe*, *Le Roi*, *Le Prince*, *Le Duc*, *L'Amie*, *Le Diable*, *Le President*, *Le Juge*, *Le Reynard*, *Le Gentil*, *Mon Roi*, *Le Cavalier*, *Le Conseilier*, *Le Conqueror*, *Le Soldat*, *La Bataille*, *L'Etoile*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Le Terrible*, *L'Amour*, *Le Paragon*. They were proud names for proud horses, but any such in old pedigrees at once suggests a foreign origin. Possibly the custom came from the East, as among the names for Arab horses are the following :

<i>Aathk</i> , The Noble	<i>Hamama</i> , The Dove
<i>Kamil</i> , The Perfect	<i>Maarouf</i> , The Known
<i>Salem</i> , The Saviour	<i>Mansour</i> , The Victorious
<i>Messuoud</i> , The Happy	

III

The sources whence the English blood-horse evolved have already been mentioned ; reference has not yet been made to the

¹ Arabian horses' manes generally lie on the off side. The Arabian horse has twenty-three rather than twenty-four vertebrae : the mares have slightly longer ears. There are beautiful names for the colours of Arabian horses : *carsha*=red-grey, *shala*=white-grey, *fadda*=silver-grey, *dahab*=golden fox, *fadschir*=any colour that sparkles, *zavka*=blue of the eye grey.

² A stallion horse at the Royal Stud at Malmesbury was called *Grisone*—evidently a Neapolitan

reasons for the "canalisation" of his type in a particular direction—the passion for horse-racing which first became fashionable in Stuart days. Of course there had been racing (chariots) in Ancient Rome—probably the "circus" near Stonehenge represents the first place in England where capital was won and lost on the Turf—but there had been no horse-racing such as we understand it previous to the Stuart era. Racing started as individual "matches" between one rider and another. At all times there were men ready to match their horses one against another for love of sport or wager, but certainly not till after the death of Shakespeare was horse-racing a pursuit other than an occasional occupation as the fact that it is unmentioned by Shakespeare in any of his plays is evidence that it was not in his time a popular amusement of the people, or indeed of any class. Race-horses still meant horses of race and breeding; the horses ridden in matches were called "running horses." The Cavaliers were in the habit of riding "matches" one against another. Charles II was extremely partial to this amusement and probably helped more than any single person to make racing popular in England, though for a long time "matches" between two horses remained the only type of race. (A match was run at Haddington, 1552.) But really to his unpopular grandfather belonged a good deal of the credit. In fact, if the Age of Chivalry was the first epoch of the British horse, the accession of James I marks the beginning of that second period—the rise of the English light horse. Buckingham's appointment was important to horse-breeding. Prince Charles' projected engagement to the Infanta of Spain resulted in many Spanish horses and mares coming over. In 1620 the favourite married the Rutland heiress, acquiring the great estate of Helmsley in Yorkshire, and probably helping to account for later good breeds of Yorkshire horses. Barbs and genets he certainly imported—some of them mares. When the Royal Stud at Tutbury was managed by the favourite (1642) there were 112 head of horses; and the six stallions used appear to have been a Neapolitan, an Arabian, a Barb, a Spanish genet and a "grey from France"—probably a Barb with some Spanish-Italian and even Polish blood—Polish horses were imported into England in 1604. The mares, from their names, would appear to have been Barbs. (*English Studs*, C. M. Prior.)

Careful breeders like the Duke of Newcastle continued to use the best Spanish stallions and the best English mares—the probable result being a very nice type of medium-weight Light Horse, compact, full of quality, sound, and docile—though lacking speed and with an over-high action suggesting the hackney breed. The more foreign mares were imported the better the new strains became.

To breed "running horses" Newcastle wrote :

" You want mares as light as possible, large and long, but well shaped ; a short back, but long sides, and a little long legged ; their breast as narrow as may be, for they will gallop the lighter and nimbler and run the faster. For the lighter and thinner you breed for galloping is the better. Your stallion should be a Barb and somewhat of the shape of the mares . . . for a Barb that is a jade will get a better running-horse than the best running-horse in England. Sir John Fennick told me, who had more experience of running-horses than any man in England, for he had more rare running-horses than all England besides, and the most part of all the famous running-horses in England that ran one against another were of his race and breed."

Rebuffed in his initial efforts to improve English horses by the introduction of an Arabian,¹ James I still adhered to further experiment with Eastern blood, and bought a horse known as " Place's White Turk " from a Mr. Place, who later was to hold some sort of office corresponding to Master of the Horse to Cromwell.

King James himself was not a very good rider, as the following tale, related by several old chroniclers, suggests. The King had dined with much pleasure a certain frosty day in December 1621, and decided thereafter " in spite of the hard ground to ride on horseback abroad." Whether the horse was to blame or whether the cold air went to a head never reputed to be very strong it is difficult to say, as various reasons were given for the fact that the King was pitched off on to the frozen edge of a stream " with so much violence that the ice brake and he fell in, so that nothing but his boots were seen." The dripping monarch was retrieved " out of the hole and his undignified predicament " with some difficulty " for there came much water out of his mouth and body," and we are glad to learn that he displayed at least the spirit of a good sportsman by remounting his " unruly jade." (*The Horse in History*, B. Tozer.)

Charles I continued " his father's ideas, and indeed lent so much patronage to the breeding of Light Horses on these lines that a petition was presented to him from the supporters of the old Great Horse begging him to take steps to prevent the stamp of horse " fit for the defence of the country " from dying out completely. One way and another Charles I had a genius for displeasing everybody !

Newmarket became the centre of horse-racing through all Stuart days, except, of course, during the Puritanical regime which

¹ At the Record Office accounts can be seen proving that the " Markham Arabian " was bought by the King for £150.

brought disaster and discredit on all kinds of sport and amusement—not so much from the idea of being cruel to an animal which might justly be said of bear-baiting, cock-fighting, dog-fighting and other “popular pastimes” during Elizabethan days—but on account of the pleasure that field sports, games, dancing, etc., gave to the individual.

Racing of any kind was, of course, suppressed during the Protectorate, but ironically enough Cromwell, superb cavalry soldier as he was, so appreciated Light Horse breeding that he kept a stud at Newmarket and managed to save some of the royal “races”—including the aforementioned “White Turk” and a valuable mare, called “the Coffin mare,” because at the Restoration she was found concealed in a vault near Newmarket! Cromwell was a good judge of horses himself and is said to have kept the Venetian Ambassador waiting for over an hour while he looked at a new horse “brought from the East.” (J. Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell*.)

Cromwell's cavalry were renowned throughout Europe—as the Cavaliers had been; both were mounted on English-bred horses. Cromwell paid eighteen pounds apiece for remounts and “sixty pounds for a black horse for himself.” In his day and for long afterwards dark brown or black horses were considered the best for heavy cavalry. Cromwell particularly appreciated a “race” of dark brown or black horses (the hobby?). To this day the Blues and Life Guards are mounted on “blacks,” a tradition which dates back to the Cromwellian cavalry—and the part played by General Monk in the Restoration.

Cromwell simplified cavalry training for both man and horse compared to that practised on the Continent. The *manège* was no part of the Ironsides' training; horses were merely conveyances for Cromwell's perfectly disciplined dragoons. He relied on superior equipment—fire power and the new flexible “lobster-pot” armour. (Prince Rupert, on the other hand, had galloped down his opponents with fleet horses, their riders relying only on buff coats and a single breast-plate—discipline had always been the weak point of the Cavaliers.) (*Cromwell*, J. Buchan.)

With an eye to his dragoons, Cromwell encouraged the breeding of good horses with bone and substance to carry them. Possibly this prevented what might otherwise have occurred—the evolution of a weedy, leggy type of thoroughbred, such as we see got by other countries striving in a relatively short time to rival the slowly established English T.B. horse. In Scotland the gallant Duke of Montrose (who had ridden in France and Italy) showed what could be done by lightly equipped cavalry—Highlanders, riding their own hardy ponies, conquered Scotland for the King.

The Tutbury Stud was broken up during the Commonwealth

and probably accounted for the spread of the better-bred foreign blood throughout the north of England. Buckingham's Yorkshire estate was given to Fairfax in 1651 as a "salve for a bad wound"!

There is a commonly held theory that "Arab sires" were the foundation of the blood-horse, but on reading the opinions of the day one cannot help being struck by the fact that careful selection, breeding and feeding of the mares used were quite as important elements in the evolution of the blood-horse as the importation of some Eastern horses. For reasons already explained we cannot be sure what these foreign horses were; all we can be certain of is that according to the requirements of the times they were good horses; i.e. good-looking, highly valued and consequently well looked after—essential to success in breeding modern blood-stock. On the Continent, where it was never so easy to breed horses as in the British Isles, these principles had long been appreciated and acted upon.

It took at least a hundred years to establish the Blood-Horse and evolve the English thoroughbred racing stock.

IV

At the Restoration we reach a most important time in the history of the English blood-horse; what we might call the third stage in his evolution. Charles II warmly espoused the Eastern blood he delighted in riding—particularly of a dash in the open with his red-coated falconers on the downs near Winchester—and was never so happy as when galloping over Newmarket Heath in company with his sporting friends. (Francis Barlow was the first artist to portray the attractions of an English race-course. There is a print in the British Museum (1687) showing Charles II racing at Dorset Ferry near Windsor Park, with stiff little horses galloping in the old-fashioned plunge, characteristic of Egyptian art.)

Charles II started the custom of giving cups as prizes at race meetings inscribed with the winners' names. The "matches" were still ridden one horse against another, but racing was well launched under the Merry Monarch's patronage, together with that spirit of gambling allied to an interest in and knowledge and love of horses, which has made the Blood-Horse of to-day.

Under Royal patronage the loveliest ladies in the land started to take an interest in racing, and not only in the riders and horses, but it was freely said that one of the most attractive of all, "La Belle Stewart" (Frances Stuart),¹ herself steered a horse to victory on the Heath. A certain Lady Mary Wortley Montagu hunted some stag-hounds in Richmond Park which was considered most

¹ "La Belle Stuart" married the 3rd Duke of Richmond; she was the original model for Britannia on our coinage.

peculiar and undesirable in a female. Her portrait on a favourite hunter was painted by a Fienchman, Burgognone (1621-1676).

Charles II had almost unique advantages by being probably the most travelled Englishman of his day. He had been a guest, if not always a welcome guest, at all the principal Courts in Europe; he had met all the most interesting men of the period, and he returned to England in 1648 with the best thought and newest ideas on the Continent in his intelligent head. A new spirit was abroad. Science had definitely arrived and among its chief sponsors in Europe were the King of England, who founded the Royal Observatory and the Royal Society, his cousin, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, and Lord Glamorgan—son of the Great Marquis of Worcester and one of the first experimenters in mechanics.

Charles II, no doubt, owed much to that fine rider, his father; but also to the influence of his first tutor, or Governor, the Duke of Newcastle. That nobleman committed to paper the principles on which he desired his young charge to frame his life. He was to study life, not books. "I would not have you too studious, for too much contemplation spoils action and virtue consists in that. What you would read I would have it history . . . that so you might compare the dead with the living; for the same humours is now as was then, there is no alteration but in names." Above all, he was to be courteous and civil: "Sir, you cannot lose by courtesy."

The very young Prince Charles wrote to Lord Newcastle:

"My Lord, I would not have you take too much physic for it doth always make me worse, as I think it will do the like with you. I ride every day, and am ready to follow any other directions from you. Make haste to return to him that loves you."

Undoubtedly, the clever boy conceived a real affection for his stately Governor and grew up with a love of music and all Courtly and manly sports—an accomplished fencer, a graceful dancer and above all a horseman. (*Charles II*, by A Bryant.) Charles II appears to have been a really excellent horseman: all horses went kindly with him and he never over-rode them. It was said that "he would never buy a horse with bad shoulders or mean quarters."

Prince Rupert's personal influence during the age of the Stuarts was an important factor. A first cousin to Charles II he was born in 1619, the third son of that sister of Charles I—Elizabeth—the ill-fated Queen of Bohemia, so attractive and charming that she was known to her age and to History as "the Queen of Hearts." She loved all sport and riding, pastimes shared by this son and

most of her family. The last Great Tournament of the Age of Chivalry was held by the Prince of Orange at the Hague in 1633 ; the Queen of Hearts attracted many gentlemen to her aid, but alas, little could be done as her husband had claimed a throne to which he had but a shadow of right and had been well trounced by a vindictive Emperor. The young Rupert, given every chance for the sake of his mother, served in his first War at the age of fifteen, in some minor campaign of the Prince of Orange, and acquitted himself well. This was a period when Gustavus Adolphus was the hero of Europe. Though the Age of Chivalry was accounted dead there remained a spirit of Romance and Endeavour abroad, which in England was to culminate in the struggle for ideals in the Civil Wars—the Divine Right of Kings and the new theory of the Liberty of the Subject.

Having little to do in Holland Prince Rupert was invited to England, where he created a most excellent impression on account of his own charming personality, his sporting tastes, his fine riding, and his ability. He loved England and he loved hunting. Among the Stratford papers a touching little account of how, on his last day in England, he went hunting with his uncle, King Charles, in Richmond Park, which Prince Rupert "so enjoyed that he wished aloud that he might break his neck that day so that he might leave his bones in England." A few years later he rushed back to the assistance of that kindly uncle, and was soon in command of his "Cavaliers"—young men with whom he had ridden and hunted.

Of the campaigns all English history books are full, but much of the contemporary romance of the struggle is lost in the dry recital of Parliamentary edicts, dates of battles and sieges. The struggle went on for a long time—through it all Rupert's example and courage was like a golden gleam at the end of a grey winter's day. Of the actual science of War he probably knew little, he had only had a brief experience of warfare in a courageous but abortive attempt to recover the Palatinate for his brother from the Emperor, the result of which was three years' imprisonment for Prince Rupert—during which time his bearing in the face of adversity had added prestige to his name. Instead of useless repining "he took up drawing and limning and perfected an instrument for drawing perspective," while when possible he "hunted the stag, fox and roe at Lintz in Austria" on strict parole. He early showed that interest in Science, which so influenced his cousin Charles, who later was to lay the foundations of our British scientific societies. It was whilst a prisoner in Austria that Prince Rupert got his famous white dog which was to pass with his own name into almost legendary fame. It says much for Prince Rupert's military genius that in a very short

time he had so ordered the young riders who flocked to the Royal Standard that he was able to lead them into action—at what was then an unheard-of proceeding—at a gallop. For so paralysed by firearms and the last traditions of the heavy men-at-arms the finest cavalry on the Continent—of Gustavus Adolphus—charged at a trot, stopping to fire their pistols and reload before proceeding, again at the trot! Prince Rupert's cavalry were never defeated until the Battle of Marston Moor. Prince Rupert himself was a wonderful and inspiring leader, worshipped by his followers. He would have no looting or robbery so the English people as a whole loved him, and there was little bitterness against the Cavaliers—nothing like what there was later to become against the “Iron-sides.” Possibly taking their tone from the King the Cavaliers were too fond of England and her country people to do them much harm, only to beat the stiff-necked gentlemen of Parliament who presumed to dictate to the King.

Probably Prince Rupert saw that the King would never gain his point by force of arms, especially as in the circumstances no one had the heart to use the full force available, so he endeavoured to get the King to come to some compromise with the Parliamentary party, failed, was upbraided and dismissed Overseas. In a short time he was completely reconciled to the King, but it was too late to avert final disaster.

Prince Rupert found plenty to do at The Hague; he organised a regiment of Royalist exiles in the French Army, he fought on the sea and he travelled in Europe and to the West Indies—his romantic youth, imprisonment, prowess in the Wars, adventures at sea, tales of America, his appearance, his unusual height, “richly liveried Blackamoors, his birds, monkeys, his supposed wealth, gems, gold and ivory and perfumes”—brought him the “fan-mail” of the modern cinema star; with it all he was a great man.

At the Restoration he settled in England again, receiving many honours from Charles II, including the Governorship of Windsor Castle, where he pursued his scientific and artistic studies and also hunted his own hounds in the Royal Forest. He was the best tennis player at Court. He never fought again on land, but, like Blake and Monk, turned Admiral and bore a brilliant part in the Wars against the Dutch. Apart from his military and naval renown Prince Rupert was also a distinguished figure in the history of Art as one of the first, if not the earliest, mezzotinters. He also experimented with gunpowder, the boring of guns and the casting of shot, and invented something like brass, called “prince's metal” after him.

When he died, in 1740, he left “a pack of hounds, a favourite old blind mare and a hunting mare”; Prince Rupert, darling of the

gods, if ever there was one, left no other luxuries. He had made English *cavaliers* famous throughout an interested Europe.

V

Soon after the Restoration Charles II collected suitable horses *and mares* for breeding. It is thought that he sent overseas for the latter, but the author of *Royal Studs* doubts if this fact is established. They became known as the "royal mares" and their known names form a conspicuous feature in the annals of breeding. Many of them were Barbs—such as the dam of Dods-worth. The interesting thing is that though English mares are in the early pedigrees of certain horses that founded famous lines, on the whole it seems true to say that until the introduction of Eastern mares, or at least their careful selection in England, the superlative quality of the English blood-horse was not apparent. This move of Charles II was definitely the chief step in the stabilisation of the new breed.

The first volume of the *Stud Book* (1791) is the oldest authority we have on pedigrees of race-horses, but it was not published until 1808, and the compiler admits that he had little to guide him previous to 1700 but "odds and ends of pedigrees extracted from racing calendars and sale papers." Consequently, there are few reliable dates, and only the names of certain horses, with the addition of their owners' names, their colour or description to guide us—such as "the Turk," "Barb mare," "Grey George" (possibly belonging to the Duke of Buckingham). There is a horse called "Counsellor," bred by a Mr. Egerton in 1694, whose pedigree is given as "by Lord D'Arcy's Counsellor, by Lord Lonsdale's Counsellor, by the Shaftesbury Turk, out of sister to Spanker"—all the dams named trace back to Eastern mares, but in the Duke of Newcastle's book, *A New Method*, we noted that "Counsellor" was in the list of names for horses of the *Manège*.

Now let us turn to M. de Ligneville's statement that "the speed and drive of English hounds is due to their being constantly ridden to by gentlemen mounted on Turks and Barbs in condition." These gentlemen were engaged in Fox-Hunting which, though undoubtedly born considerably earlier, first rose to the size of a princely sport during the reign of Charles II.

As has already been stated, the fox was certainly hunted, but the huntsman and followers used either to run on foot or be quietly conveyed over open waste country on "ambling nags." During the Civil War there is evidence many times that the

Cavaliers indulged whenever possible between campaigns in their favourite sports of falconry and hunting (buck and hare). There is the well-known tradition that in the early morning of the day of the Battle of Naseby a Northamptonshire squire with his hounds rode across the front of the Parliamentary army drawn up in battle array. (Some old writers say that he was in full pursuit of a fox, but it is more likely that he was hunting a hare. Anyhow, he vanished in the early morning mists and his name was never known to either Royalist or Roundhead. In those days it should be remembered that most of the present Pytchley country of the Naseby district consisted of open unenclosed downlands, while the neighbouring Whaddon country was a more or less wooded "Chase."¹)

Among the "Roxburgh Ballads" of the period was the Cavalier song :

"O 'tis a gallant thing
In the prime time of the spring,
To hear the huntsman now and then
His bugle for to blow
And the hounds run all a-row,

To hear the beagle cry,
And to see the falcon fly,
And the hare trip over the plain,
While the huntsman and the hounds
Make hill and dale resound."

At this time there were plenty of foxes, there were a few wild boar left in the Royal Forests as well as red deer ; there were still some wolves in Ireland.

Warburton tells us in *Lives of the Cavaliers* how Prince Rupert jumped a fence into a bean-field to escape capture at the close of the disastrous Battle of Marston Moor. In this battle also Prince Rupert's favourite white dog was slain. (We do not know what this dog was—he may have been a hound, but more likely was a white poodle. Prince Rupert was devoted to him and the white dog was with him in every battle and was a noted character throughout England. The Parliamentarians called him "Rupert's familiar spirit" and thought he had a charmed life, consequently there was great exultation among the superstitious soldiers when he was killed on Marston Moor in 1644.)

After the Restoration, alongside the fashionable racing crowd, there was another smart set—many of whom were in both camps, but not all—the Members of the select Charlton Hunt. Charlton was the old hunting-box of the Earls of Arundel near Midhurst

¹ The tradition of the Squire before Naseby is well known, but it is not so well known that Charles I and all his officers went hunting the day before the Battle of Naseby. (*Anglici Rediiorua*, Sprigge, 1644)

in Sussex, and consisted of some 8000 acres of woodlands and down country. It became a sort of Melton of the day and the favourite resort of the handsome and dashing Duke of Monmouth. The Charlton Hunt seems to have been the earliest attempt at regular fox-hunting in an organised manner, with the field ordinarily mounted.

By the time of the Restoration the country had changed considerably in character—the Royal Forests were gone in all but name or were much attenuated. Practically all the great oak trees in the Royal Forests had been cut down to build the new British battleships which, under Blake, had won big sea battles. Many people had encroached on the boundaries and helped themselves to delectable bits of land with or without leave, others had hunted and driven away the game, the Forest Courts had gone, the King's Wardens and Rangers had been killed or were in hiding; wild boar and red deer had practically ceased to exist except on the fringes of the wildest moors—such as Exmoor, and the hills of Wales and Yorkshire. Cromwell, able organiser as he was, with the instincts of a Cambridgeshire fen-man for drained land, commenced those serious operations which were to banish marsh and bittern to a relatively small area of England.

The King was obliged to compensate faithful followers with estates carved out of Royal property. Charles II never had enough money; all he could do was to give grants of Royal land to reward faithful followers: thus he gave Whittlebury Forest and Whaddon Chase to the Duke of Grafton. On their return to England after the Restoration, the Duchess of Newcastle wrote:

"Of eight parks, which my Lord had before the wars, there was but one left which was not quite destroyed, viz. Welbeck Park, of about four miles compass; for my Lord's brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, who bought out the life (interest) of my Lord in that lordship, saved most part of it from being cut down; and in Blore Park there were some few deer left. The rest of the parks were totally defaced and destroyed, both wood, pales and deer; amongst which was also Clipston Park, of seven miles compass, wherein my Lord had taken much delight formerly, it being rich of wood, and containing the greatest and tallest timber-trees of all the woods he had; insomuch, that only the pale row was valued at £2000. It was watered by a pleasant river that runs through it, full of fish and others [*sic*]; was well stocked with deer, full of hares, and had great store of partridges, poots (poots generally means young birds of any kind but Mr. G. H. Firth here thinks it may mean black game or grouse), pheasants, etc.; besides all sorts of water fowl; so that this park afforded all manner of sports, for hunting, hawking, coursing, fishing, etc.; for which my Lord esteemed it very much. And although his patience and wis-

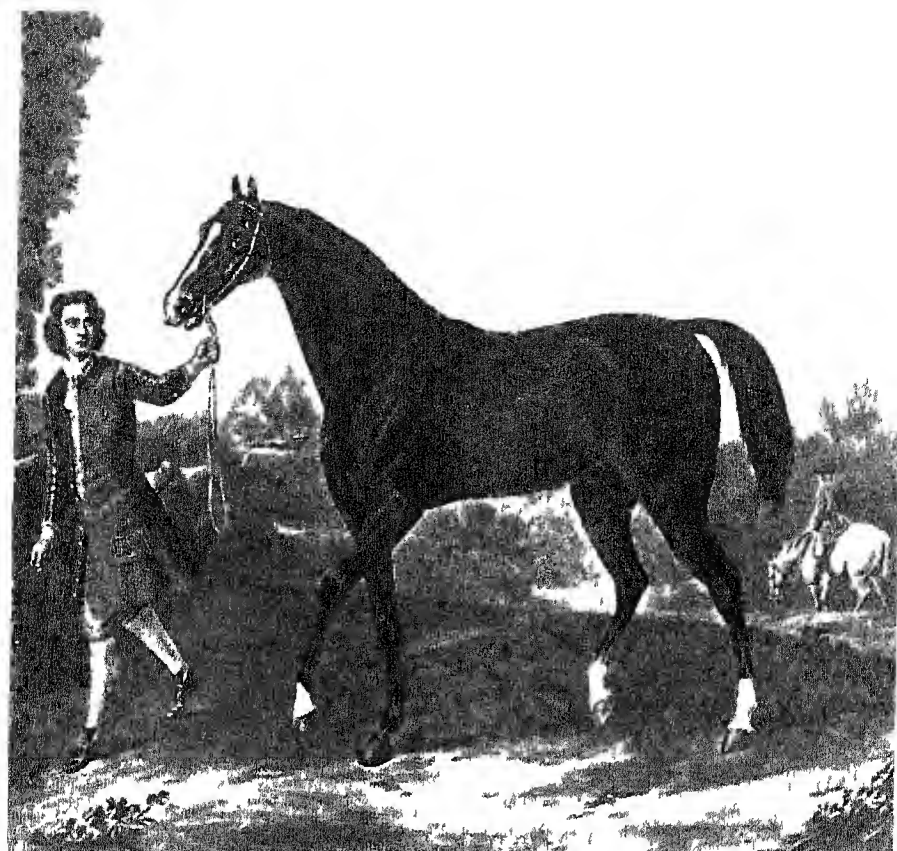
Eighteenth-century English bloodstock.

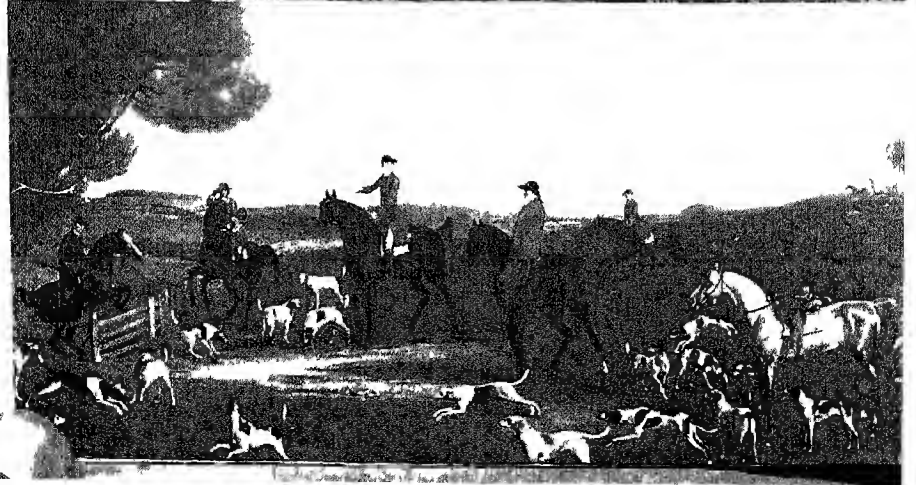
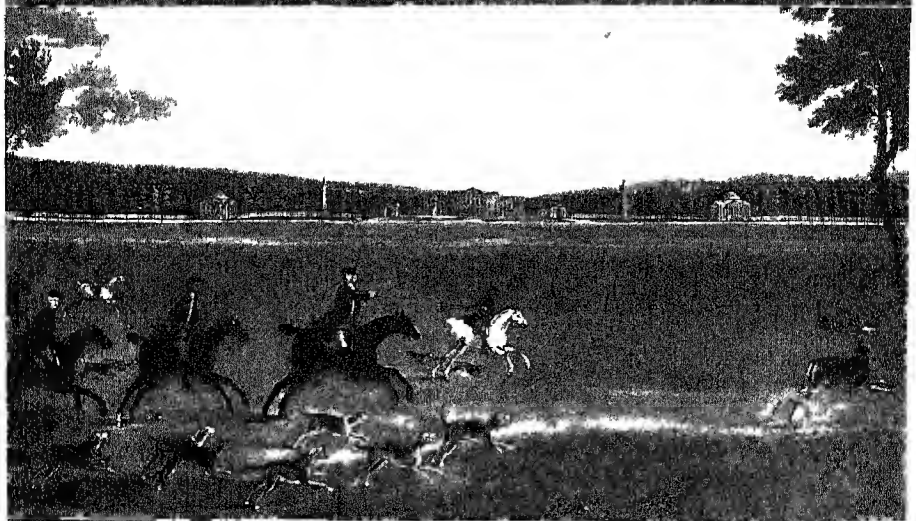
(Top picture) *The Darley Arabian (painted by John Wootton).*

(W. S. Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists*)

(Lower) *The 3rd Duke of Richmond with the Duchess and Lady Louisa Lennox watching his racehorses in training (painted by George Stubbs).*

(By permission of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.)





dom is such, that I never perceived him sad or discontented for his own losses and misfortunes, yet when he beheld the ruins of that park, I observed him troubled, though he did little express it, only saying, he had been in hopes that it would not be so defaced as he found it, there being not one timber-tree left in it for shelter. However, he patiently bore what could not be helped, and gave present order for cutting down of some wood that was left him in some place adjoining, to repale it, and got from several friends deer to restock it."

He also lost "all the stock on his well stocked, well-manured granges (farms) besides his race (breed) of horses in his grounds, grange (farm) horses, hackney horses, *manège*-horses, coach horses, and others he kept for his use." In all, worth very nearly a million pounds in the money of this day. And State Papers of 1655 contain the complaint of the Verderers of Sherwood Forest that

"the forest is ruined, especially Clipston Woods . . . a Mr. Clark on pretence of a grant from the Committee for the Sale of Traitors' Estates has felled one thousand trees and daily fells more . . . in the heart of the forest, where the deer have their greatest relief. There is much good ship timber in the forest."

The result of all this was that the ancient Royal hunting grounds of the Kings of England practically ceased to exist and followed unwanted privileges and valueless rangerships into the limbos of the past. Never does Charles II appear to have been fond of hunting the hart or rousing the buck; he liked a dash in the open and the feel of a good horse between his knees, galloping over Newmarket Heath. Not so some of his Court.

There is little doubt that the Duke of Monmouth himself at one time or another hunted the Charlton Hounds. Then a celebrated Squire Roper hunted them for the second Duke of Richmond (son of Charles II by Louise de Kerouaille) who lived at the early Goodwood. Squire Roper had them in 1679, but had to flee the country for a few years, having supported Monmouth's Rebellion.

The Duke of Richmond's stud-groom, a M. St. Paul, came from the Richmond estate of Aubigny, the home of the famous Louise de Kerouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth and mother of the Duke. It is possible that certain French Hounds—Royal and Brittany—came over at the same time. If a stud-groom, why not hounds? Anyhow, the Charlton enjoyed excellent sport, seem to have killed a lot of foxes and to have had some very good points in the delightful country in the vicinity of Midhurst—at that time open downland varied with great strips of woodland—and though probably there were a few obstacles, on the whole there was little

Eighteenth-century pictures of hunting still hanging at their original homes.

(Top picture) *John Wootton's of Lady (Henrietta) Harley hunting a hare, 1716.*

(By permission of the Duke of Portland.)

(Middle) *John Wootton's of the 3rd Duke of Beaufort stag-hunting in Badminton Park (c. 1728).*

(By permission of the Duke of Beaufort.)

(Lower) *George Stubbs' of the 3rd Duke of Richmond and his brother, Lord George Lennox, fox-hunting at Goodwood (c. 1760).*

(By permission of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.)

to stop hounds or horses. The country was hilly and broken ; a " well breath'd horse " was undoubtedly required to keep with a fast pack of hounds and there is evidence that the Duke of Monmouth and his friends rode the very best blood-horses money could buy. Probably the latter were a development of the *Manège* horse and the new type of carefully bred horses that we see in the first sporting pictures.¹

James II was noted as a fine horseman. Had circumstances suited better he might have made his mark in the sporting annals of the country. During his reign a quarrel over a horse probably altered the course of history, as well as illustrating how men valued good horses in those days. It happened in the early stages of the lamentable uprising known as Monmouth's Rebellion that a well-considered gentleman, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, called the Patriot, had accompanied the Duke to the West of England, but

" being sent upon an expedition, and not esteeming times of danger to be times of ceremony, he had seized for his own riding the horse of a country gentleman (the Mayor of Lynne), which stood ready equipped for its master. The master hearing this ran in a passion to Fletcher, gave him opprobrious language, shook his cane and attempted to strike. Fletcher, though rigid in the duties of morality, yet having been accustomed to foreign service both by sea and land in which he had acquired high ideas of the honour of a soldier and a gentleman and of the affront of a cane, pulled out his pistol and shot him dead on the spot. The action was unpopular in countries where such refinements were not understood. A clamour was raised against it by the people of the country (Devon). In a body they waited upon the Duke with their complaints ; he was forced to desire the only soldier and almost the only man of parts in his army, to abandon him." (Sir John Dalrymple.)

The Battle of Bridgwater was lost and perhaps the Kingdom—for a horse.²

During James II's reign the " Stradling or Lister Turk " was brought to England by the Duke of Berwick from the siege of Buda.

William of Orange was keen on horses and racing. He died from the effects of a fall when his favourite horse stumbled over a mole-hill in Richmond Park. His reign with Mary, daughter of James, is noteworthy in the history of English horses during the

¹ From old accounts referred to by the late Duke of Richmond and Gordon in his interesting book, *Memoirs of the Old Charlton Hunt* (1910), we learn that "the expenses of ten hunters for his Grace's own use for one year, including wages, board wages and liveries, came to £418. 14. 4. in the year 1705."

² It was an ancestor of the author who thus shot a man for a horse.

Stuart period for the appearance of one of the three great named direct forebears of the modern blood-horse, namely the famous "Byerly Turk." Nothing is known of this horse save that the first volume of the *Stud Book* says: "He was Captain Byerly's charger in Ireland in King William's wars." "The Turk" was the sire of "Jig," who was the sire of "Partner" (1718), grandfather of "King Herod" foaled in 1758. Commonly known as "Herod," the latter was a bay horse 15.3, possessing both substance and length of limb—those grand requisites in a race-horse combined with staying power. He was bred by William, Duke of Cumberland, uncle of George III, he ran ten times, losing four and winning six races. There are fully a dozen unknown mares in his pedigree—which are more likely to have been English than Eastern bred, but his descendants number many famous horses.

The second very important Eastern horse to leave his mark on English breeding was the "Darley Arabian" (Plate XXI), who is believed to have been a genuine Arabian, imported by a Mr. Darley of Yorkshire about the end of the reign of William and Mary or the beginning of Queen Anne's. The "Darley Arabian" is said to have been a true Kehilan Anezeh-bred Arabian. The Anezeh Arabs are reputed by the travellers in search of Arabian horses, to breed the best type of horses—of which the best are claimed to be of the five families which are called the "Khamseh." The Kehilan Ajuz is said to be one of the best desert strains—the words meaning "the mare of the old woman." Mr. Davenport, an American enthusiast of the Arabian horse, who wrote *My Quest of the Arabian Horse*, tells the story of this family:

that they are all said to be descended from a very fine mare whose owner riding her across the desert once stopped at a well owned by an old woman; while stopping to drink, the mare gave birth to a colt foal, but the traveller, being hard pressed for time, rode on, giving the colt to the old woman. He rode steadily till dark, when he stopped for the night. Next morning what was his surprise to find that the baby colt had followed his mother's tracks and was there lying by her side. These Kehilans are generally bay and are one of the fastest, though not the best-looking, strains. They resemble the English blood-horse which is not surprising, as the "Darley Arabian," from whom so many of our best horses are descended, was a Kehilan.

The reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) will ever be inseparably connected with English blood-stock on account of the fame during that period of this bay stallion, from whom our very best horses are descended. The "Darley Arabian," did much to remove the prejudice against Eastern blood which had been instilled into the public mind through the Duke of Newcastle's denunciation of the "Markham Arabian." Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, was himself very keen on racing and breeding, and

it was largely owing to his influence that so many valuable stallions were imported during her reign—the “Leedes Arabian,” for instance, was bought for one thousand pounds by the Queen to give to her consort.

The “Darley Arabian’s” line is represented first through his son “Flying Childers”—who, by the way, stood only 14.2—his grandsons “Blaze” and “Snip,” and his great-grandson “Snap,” and secondly through his other son “Bartlett’s Childers” and his great-great-grandson the famous “Eclipse,” bred by the Duke of Cumberland. The “Darley Arabian” stood 15.2.

The third famous horse imported was the “Godolphin Arabian” (or Barb as some experts think is more probable), discovered in France by Mr. Coke, younger brother of the famous “Coke of Norfolk,” afterwards Lord Leicester of Holkham (who may be said to have invented the “three course system” and to have laid the foundation of successful British agriculture). We cannot do more than refer to this horse who became famous during his ownership by the second Lord Godolphin (1678–1766), son of the famous Tory Minister (and who married the Duke of Marlborough’s daughter), as he was imported during the reign of George II, but his line is inextricably combined with that of the other two famous horses already described. The “Godolphin Arabian” was a dark bay, not more than 14.2 without his shoes, showing some white on his off heel and an unusually high crest. He had a famous grandson “Matchem” (1748), a brown bay horse with some white on his off hind heel; he stood about 15 hands high, his dam was sister to “Miss Partner” (1735) by “Partner” out of “Brown Farewell,” by “Makeless” (son of the “Oglethorpe Arabian”), from a daughter of “Brimmer” out of “Trumpet’s” dam, by Place’s “White Turk” (mentioned, p. 322), while “Brimmer” was by D’Arcy’s “Yellow Turk” from a “royal mare” (p. 328).

The gems of the three famous lines may be briefly put as: (1) of the “Darley Arab’s” line “Snap,” “Shuttle,” “Waxy” and “Orville”—the stoutest blood on the Turf; (2) of the “Byerly Turk’s” line—“Buzzard” and “Sir Peter”—speedy blood, the latter the stouter of the two; (3) of the “Godolphin’s” line—“Sorcerer,” often producing large-sized horses but showing a tendency to die out and becoming rare.

Among the celebrated horses of Eastern blood imported before 1764 to fix the blood-horse type in late Georgian times were: Brown Arabian, Honeywood’s Arabian, Wilson’s chestnut Arabian, Newton’s Arabians (2), Lonsdale’s Bay Arabian, Coombe Arabian, Bethell’s Arabian, Wilkinson’s Barb mare, Compton’s Barb, Dodsworth’s (foaled in England), The Akhaster Turk, The Marshal (or Selaby) Turk, D’Arcy’s White Turk, Lord Oxford’s

Arabian, Oglethorpe's Arabian, Cullen's Arabian mare, Newcombe's Bay Mountain Arabian, Panron's Arabian, Damascus Arabian, Bell's Gray Arabian, Tarran's Black Barb, The St. Victor Barb, Admiral Keppel's Barb mare, The Strickland Turk, Belgrade Turk, D'Aicy's Yellow Turk. These names are constantly quoted in the pedigrees of horses famous on the race-course and the grasslands of the Shires in the next century.

Whatever may be owing to this Eastern blood, a perfect fashion for which spread over the British Isles from the middle of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, we must never forget the importance of the female line and the undoubted influence of the carefully bred "native mares" on which the Arabian, Turk, and Barb blood was grafted to lay the foundation of our matchless blood-stock. Thus were well and truly laid the foundations of our present racing stock.

From this original stock to some extent were derived the size and stride which characterises the English race-horse, while from his Eastern forebears who were seldom above 14 hands in height, he got that power of endurance and his elegant shape. "Other nations may have supplied the blood, but England has made the race-horse"

CHAPTER XII

THE SQUIRES OF ENGLAND

"Immersed in the greatest affairs he never lost the ancient, native, genuine English character of a country gentleman."
BURKE.

I

ALL THROUGH TUDOR AND STUART TIMES IT MAY BE fairly said that the affairs of the English countryside had been administered by the country gentlemen of England, acting in their public capacity as unpaid Justices of the Peace or in their private characters as leaders and defenders of local opinion. Their strength lay largely in their local importance as landlords, as well as by virtue of their commissions as Justices of the Peace. Shakespeare has drawn such a country-bred agent of the Crown in Justice Shallow of Gloucestershire, Falstaff's friend; Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley is another. English country types never change very fast. Government still relied for its working, not on a paid and dependent bureaucracy as to-day, but on a political understanding with the local gentry who acted as its unpaid agents. At the Hanoverian Succession it was the rural landlords who still formed the true oligarchy, with the difference that they were no longer controlled by the central power, which they themselves largely controlled. In early Georgian England there was no democratic township, alien in thought and habit from the country. There were no elected County Councils till 1888. Until that date the country gentlemen ruled the English countryside. On the whole their rule was a good one. Closely connected with local affairs, understanding and brought up with the people, if not literally of them, schooled in thought by practical precepts as affecting their own future, a future closely bound up and of equal importance as that of their neighbours. Thus it was that knowledge of and participation in country affairs became the main preoccupation of most Country Squires. And so it came about, as Plato wrote so long ago: "There can be no more important kind of information than the exact knowledge of a man's own country; and for this, as well as for more general reasons of pleasure and advantage, hunting with hounds and other kinds of sport should be pursued by the

young." (*Laws*, Jowett.) Hunting was the main pastime of the English country gentleman, whether a great landowner or a small one.

There is no doubt that the face of the English countryside had changed considerably under the Stuarts, or rather the protracted Civil Wars, culminating in the Protectorate, had made many unavoidable changes described already. Owing to the disturbed state of the country, the play of parties, the confiscations, sequestrations, etc., many of the old estates were broken up for ever—though it is characteristic of the British people that some sort of compromise was often reached. A father might be overseas with young Charles, but a son or a brother might have kept the property together or saved the remnants of the family fortune by alliance through marriage with a Parliament man or some distant connection who "was known in London." Such as Mr. Winston Churchill so ably describes in the account of the Duke of Marlborough's father—a Royalist who lost his all and was reduced to living on the charity of his wife's Roundhead relations. As Mr. G. M. Trevelyan points out in his *History of England*: "Parliament of those days was composed almost entirely of country squires, their interests were the same as their blood was the same of the Royalist squires, their relations, whom in a few cases they supplanted." Princely estates, like those of the Dukes of Newcastle and Beaufort, were not so easy to restore in their entirety, particularly if the *status quo* found them in the hands of men prominent in the Restoration. It was much easier to restore a manor to its former owner than some large tract of land comprising half a county. At the Restoration the majority of Royalist squires got back their family places, in others it remained in new hands; there was continuity all the time. But though the tastes of the English country gentleman did not change, the opportunities for indulging in his favourite sport had changed considerably.

There is much historical evidence to prove that by 1700 there were few red deer left in England. For example, old writers affirm that at that date the famous Forest of Pickering contained but "a beggarly 35 head of deer" and it was the same with all the Forests. Red deer were killed by bands of unemployed soldiers during and after the Civil War—so nothing remained, as one old writer says, but "rabbits and Roundheads." The Crown had sold rights, granted privileges in prodigal fashion as rewards, allowed officials to lapse rather than pay salaries, and everywhere the Forest Laws were finished and men had taken over the land on the shadowiest pretext of right. Charles II had preferred to keep his friends rather than his sporting rights; as already stated, he preferred a ride to a hunt. James II, who was a keen

buck-hunter, never felt himself secure enough to do anything drastic about Forests; William and Mary were not inclined to do more than foster hunting round Windsor and Richmond; Queen Anne liked hunting with her subjects but really preferred racing, George I's ideas seldom went beyond Windsor—so one way and another the old days and old ways of hunting were definitely gone never to return. The consequence of this was that hunting the red deer *par force* and flying falcon at the heron vanished with the England of the past. But men's minds and bodies still craved for the sports of their ancestors, and hunting the hare in the open, well-drained fields of their own properties became the favourite sport of the English squires in Queen Anne's days, as hawking had been that of their Tudor ancestors. Here and there some old gentleman kept on the old ideas longer than others, here and there someone hit on a new way of hunting, but on the whole Hunting was gradually readapted.

The Squires had a good deal of fairly open country in which to hunt. What wonder that the best hunting-country should be where the Royal Forests had been for so long a bulwark against enclosures and population? Whittlebury, Whadden, Rockingham, Exmoor, Sherwood, Raby, Malvern Chase, Windsor, were for a long time, and still are, relatively under-populated.

And in many of the lesser manor houses country gentlemen delighted to keep their home-bred hounds, some perhaps for shooting, a few for coursing, and a lot for hunting the hare. One "Master" vied against another for excellence of nose and tongue. There were good and bad, careless and thoughtful, popular and the reverse—as to-day. But it was all part of their own private country life. Such an idea as taking a cap, extracting the last penny out of a visitor, would have been entirely alien to their ideas.

It should not be forgotten that Sir Robert Walpole—Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742—who gave England peace and restored confidence after three generations of change and trouble, was a Norfolk landowner who was said to open his gamekeeper's letters before all State missives, who hunted his beagles in Richmond Park when he could not get home, ruled for twenty years by alliance with Whig peers and in their interests—but he represented in his own person the squires of England. Sir Roger de Coverley is perhaps a popular and to a certain extent typical of the Country Squire of the day, but one must not forget that Addison, a Whig, was writing to annoy the Tories, and most of the Squires were Tories. (In the same way, as at a much later date, Mr. Watson proves that we ought not to take Surtees' characters as exactly typical of their day—Surtees was writing partly to annoy his contemporaries, to reprove obvious exaggera-

tions and absurdities in both speech and custom of the time—he knew that the idea of a grocer as Master of Hounds would annoy the whole countryside, also that a grocer was likely to make a fool of himself. And in the same way we would not perhaps take *Punch* as typical in all essentials of our own times.)

Up to 1750 all hunting was carried on in a leisurely way. Hounds were slow, and the unclipped 15 hands hunters slow too—though hardy and up to weight—remember, that body armour was then only just going out of fashion. “Noblemen and gentlemen of property often with vast estates all kept a few hounds as a matter of course, and took them out to hunt anything that would run whenever the spirit moved them.”

They set out about dawn generally at all times of the year, picked up “the drag” of hare, fox or buck, and followed the trail to its “kennel.” Then followed a long hunt, which in the case of a fox probably lasted five or six hours unless he got to ground. Even in Peter Beckford’s day it was accounted a poor fox that had not kept on its feet for five hours. It was in 1745 that the record hunt with the Grafton occurred—twelve hours and sixty miles as hounds ran.

There were no subscribers, etc., to bother about; everyone was welcome, but few people other than personal friends were informed of Meets, the farmers were almost all tenant-farmers, pledged to support fox-hunting and game of all sort. The hunt over, the Master and his private friends returned home and dined as soon as the meal could be served, no matter what the hour—hence has descended the custom of wearing Hunt coats for dinner after a day’s hunting. In the old days dinner was a long and substantial meal, and on such hunting days was probably seldom attended by the ladies, but enlivened with excellent wine—claret, as port was not invented as a general drink until the Napoleonic wars—songs and much hunting talk with bed between seven and nine o’clock, more or less sober, to be up at dawn next day for some other sport—shooting, badger-drawing, cock-fighting or more hunting.

Everywhere the country ridden over was more or less unenclosed outside the villages; there were just park palings, a few ditches and hedges to be negotiated—all of which were jumped at a standstill “off the hocks” and generally with horses held tight by the head—to judge by the early pictures, the riders sitting down in their saddles with long stirrups. The going must have been very heavy as, of course, most of the land was completely undrained. The horses were unclipped and all turned back to grass after hunting, though often fed liberally on beans, hay and

beer. Before 1750, the "flying leap" was deemed something extraordinary.

II

It is unlikely we shall ever know which was the first kennel of foxhounds as who really first hunted the fox new style. Various claims have been made. It is certain that Lord Arundel kept a pack of foxhounds between the years 1670 and 1700, which hunted in Hampshire and Wiltshire; and it is from the descendants of those hounds that Mr. Hugo Meynell formed his pack at Quorndon in 1782. About thirty years before this (1750) Lord Spencer formed the Pytchley Hunt Club at the village of that name, moving his hounds from Althorp. The Quorn country was hunted by Mr. Thomas Boothby in 1698, the Cranbourne Chase, from which have arisen the Blackmore Vale and the Cattistock, certainly owe their origin to Mr. Thomas Fownes of Stapleton in



Badminton.

1730, with a very strong probability, from local tradition, that their history goes back at least a century earlier. The second Duke of Buckingham hunted the Cliveden country in Yorkshire—fox and stag, two packs of hounds. In 1714 the third Duke of Beaufort is known to have kept "a larger pack of harriers and a small one of deer-hounds." (Six years later the Badminton Kennel contained thirty couple of harriers and six of stag-hounds.¹) The Duke of Cleveland travelled about with his hounds; in one season he hunted in Northumberland and in the Badsworth country. It was evidently a frequent custom for one gentleman to take his hounds to hunt another country where there were foxes and no one particular to hunt them—the Dukes of Beaufort used to move from Badminton to their other seat, Heythrop House in Oxfordshire, in this way. At Belvoir the Duke of Rutland's hounds were turned from stag to fox as late as 1762; the third Duke of Beaufort was guardian to the young fifth

¹ Soon after 1740, the harriers were given up. The fifth Duke turned the staghounds into foxhounds.

Duke, and probably had much to do with the foundations of a Kennel that would be known wherever good foxhounds are appreciated. It is uncertain when or how the first hounds came to Belvoir, but "Scrutator" writing in 1830 refers to a theory that Belvoir hounds had been crossed some two hundred years previously with greyhounds because of their fine coats and clean necks compared to many hounds of the day; Sir Walter Gilbey (in *Hounds of Olden Times*) suggests that the Royal White Hounds of France as more likely responsible for such characteristics. The family portraits painted by John Wootton for Badminton, Longleat, Welbeck Abbey, Goodwood and Althorp provide fascinating proof of the hounds, horses and contemporary sport at these great houses in the middle of the eighteenth century. (See plate XXII.)

The Old Charlton Hounds have already been referred to and in many ways they are one of the most interesting packs of foxhounds in England, if not the earliest. Their history in Stuart days has already been mentioned. Under the second Duke of Richmond they showed excellent sport. In 1738 occurred the great "Charlton run" of fifty-seven miles, hounds killing their fox at the finish. In 1739 these hounds found a fox at 7.45 a.m. and killed him at 5.50 p.m., having run about twenty-four miles—i.e. at the pace of some two and half miles an hour. These fox-hunters believed in getting up early to be at covert-side by dawn to push out a fox before he had had time to digest his night's meal or to sleep off the effects. Sometimes they hunted him by his drag.

Not much can be known of the appearance of these carefully bred hounds. An anonymous poem of the Charlton Hunt advises a master:

"The Spanish colour or the brown reject
The black tanned dog does never take the eye
The all white hound of snowball kind don't please,
The black pyed dog, with bright tanned edges round
With buff or yellow head, and white the ground,
Of such compose thy pack."

Because of the Richmond family's connection with France it has always been thought that the Charlton Hounds probably had some connection with French hounds of Normandy or even the Royal. We know that in 1715, when Louis XIV "slowed down" the white hounds, he crossed them with a breed known as "the Normandy"—about which little is known—Count le Couteulx hazarding that as the Normandy hound was known to be *tricolour*, i.e. black, red (tan) and white, he was probably a mixture of other breeds—St. Huberts (white and black types) and the *fauve* or dun. He was a large hound

standing twenty-six and thirty inches, with a deep voice and a good nose, excellent for retrieving on a cold scent, but was slow. Later (1774), when Louis XV wanted to increase the pace of the Royal White hounds, he imported some cross-bred hounds from England, "fleeter and more vigorous and better hunters" than the then Royal pack. Is it not highly probable that this was merely a return to original blood of perhaps some of the hounds sent to England as presents during previous reigns or that had been drafted in 1715 as too fast?

There is an inherent snobbishness in the English country gentlemen who will follow a Duke or an Earl anywhere if they believe in him; in the same way Dukes, Earls and Squires will sit at the feet of a gentleman who will show them and prove it himself by example, a better way of doing things—such as a later generation would do to Coke of Norfolk who taught a new method of farming as Mr. Hugo Meynell did over hunting. No doubt the methods of the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton, the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, the Duke of Cleveland at Raby, Lord Spencer at Althorp, the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood were copied. But it was not only snobbery.

Hunting was not only the sport of the rich landowning class. The Epping Hunt¹ was "the common hunt of the city of London," right to hunt in Epping Forest having been granted to the City Fathers by Edward IV. The wits used to make caustic jokes at the expense of the worthy burgesses who, knowing little of sport, used to hunt there regularly, such as D'Urfrey in the early eighteenth century (1719-1720):

"My lord he takes a staff in hand to beat the bushes o'er
I must confess it was a work he'd never done before;
A creature bounced from the bush which made them all to laugh,
'My lord,' he cried, 'A hare! A hare!' but it proved an Essex calf"
Etc.

The customs of Venerie were easily handed on with slight variations to fox-hunting. It was not likely that the Duke of Beaufort, brought up to stag-hunting and to hunting the hare with his pack of harriers, would evolve all of a sudden a completely new technique or rob the Chase of its time-honoured traditions. Moreover, at Badminton it is likely that he and others like him who found stag-hunting becoming out of keeping with the times and hare-hunting lacking in certain adventurous elements, only hunted a fox at times when they could find one, and when other

¹ A Mr. Mellish is known to have hunted deer in Epping Forest with these hounds till 1805, his pack being said to have been lemon-pyes, which Lord Ribblesdale states were the foundations of the old North Devon (See p 359)

sport was lacking. For a long time at Badminton there remained stag-hounds and hounds for hunting the hare.

Such an idea was evidently in the mind of the late Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt when he tried to suggest the mind of the old-fashioned English Squire, who disliked new-fangled changes, especially the expensive sport of the new rich :

“ I like the hunting of the hare
Better than that of the fox,
The new world still is all less fair
Than the old world it mocks.

I covet not a wider range
Than these dear manors give ;
I take my pleasures without change
And as I lived, I live.

I leave my neighbours to their thought
My choice it is and pride
On my own lands to find my sport
In my own fields to ride.

I like the hunting of the hare ;
New sports I hold in scorn
I like to be as my fathers were
In the days e'er I was born.”

So it was in most of the stately homes of England there were packs of hounds. Sometimes the young men of the house hunted them, sometimes it was their fathers or grandfathers. Occasionally, the daughters had something to do with it—as, for instance, we see in the picture by J. Wootton of the Lady Henrietta, Countess of Oxford (1694-1756) at Welbeck who hunted her own pack of harriers. (See plate XXII.)

It can be seen in the old pictures that there were still wide stretches of completely open wold and plain country—probably some of the lesser-kept commons, the tops of the downs in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, the Welsh hills, the moors of Yorkshire and Scotland, etc.—are the last places remaining as much of England was in the time of the first Georges.

III

It is not easy to find out exactly how they hunted before 1700 as letters of the time take so much for granted. Few books on Sport of the day were published until Nicholas Cox wrote about hunting in *The Gentleman's Recreations*, first published in 1674. It is interesting as the author is believed to have hunted hounds himself, but though one often comes across references to the book

in later works and some of it undoubtedly gives evidence of first-hand information, the majority of the chapters is merely a hotch-potch of information culled from Turbervile, Sir Thomas Cockayne, and Gervase Markham. Evidently, at this time, there was a public demand for this type of book in the same way as there had been in Tudor England; about the same date a Mr. Richard Blome published a similar *Gentleman's Recreations*, but being merely editor and admittedly no sportsman himself this book is not so interesting to us as that of Mr. Nicholas Cox who, in the third and fourth editions of his book (1686 and 1697), states that he writes "of the manner of English Hunting according to the best information I could gather either out of books, experienced huntsmen and my own practice." The chief pity is that nowhere does he give a description of a day's hunting in England of that time; the book is chiefly a recital of Do's and Don'ts, ever boresome and uninformative. Fortunately, the versifiers of the day were not so remiss. A delightful poem, relating to the hounds kept by the aforementioned second Duke of Buckingham in Yorkshire, called "The Fox Chase," (first published between 1650-1702,) gives us some reliable information of a day's hunting:

" Then in Wreckledale Scrag
 We threw off our dogs
 In a place where his lying was likely,
 But the like ne'er was seen
 Since a huntsman I have been,
 Never hounds found a fox more quickly.

There was Dido and Spanker,
 And Younker was there
 And Ruler that ne'er looks behind him,
 There was Rose and Bonnylass
 Who were always in the chase
 These were part of our hounds that did find him.

Mr Tybballs cries away
 Hark away! Hark away!
 With that our foot huntsman did hear him,
 Tom Mossman cries 'Godsounds
 Uncouple all your hounds
 Or else we shall never come nigh him'

Then Caper and Countess
 And Comely were thrown off
 With Famous Trumper and Cryer,
 And several hounds beside
 Whose stoutness there was tried
 And not one in the pack that did tire.

.

Our hounds came on apace
And we fell into the Chase
And thus pursued the poor creature
With English and French horn
We encouraged our hounds that morn
And our cry it was greater and greater "

This poem should be read in its entirety in the *Roxburgh Ballads*. The Duke was living in Yorkshire 1657 to 1687. It shows conclusively that stag-hunting customs still prevailed and some masters drew for a fox as they used to do for a deer—i.e. with



Alnwick Castle, where hunting has been carried on by the Dukes of Northumberland and the Percy family from early days.

a few reliable old hounds or tufters. The "foot huntsman" was probably the harbourer: "Godsounds" was a favourite Stuart expletive; the "English and French horn" probably meant the metal horn then taking the place of the old English ox horn—of a type which had gone to America with the early settlers and is still in use in some parts of the U.S.A. (See *Hunting in the U.S.A. and Canada*, by Mr. A. Henry Higginson, and *Hounds and Hunting down the Ages*, A. R. Thomas.)

Cox has much to tell us of interest regarding the direct ancestors of modern foxhounds. We can catch a glimpse of the new forms of hunting at force leading to hunting as we know it. The author was writing for the instruction of his readers—not for their entertainment. For the first description of a hunt in literature—

outside private letters—we are indebted to the *Spectator* (July 12, 1711), wherein Eustache Budgell, cousin of Addison, describes a day with Sir Roger de Coverley's "Stop-hounds"—so-called because they were under such perfect control that they could always be stopped.

Nicholas Cox mentions the following breeds of hounds :

(1) The GAZE-HOUNDS, "used for catching the fox and hare, hunting chiefly by sight in open country, employed by people riding," and as Gesner said, "popular in the north of England." Elsewhere he refers to the gaze-hound as "our little beagle with swift foot and ready voice."

(2) The GREYHOUND—still of *græ*-hound type, not so big as the wolf-dog in Ireland—used for coursing and held on slips until the game was on foot: "among all dogs these are the principal, having the chiefest place and being simply and absolutely the best of the gentle kind of hound."

(3) The HARRIER—designated "with an admirable gift of smelling and is bold and courageous in the pursuit of his game . . . several sorts of them and all differ in their services; some are for the Hare, the Fox, the Wolf, the Hart, the Buck, the Badger, the Otter, the Polecat, the Weasel, the Coney, etc., some for one thing, some for another." This was quite new of the "Harrier."

(4) The TERRIER, used only in hunting the fox and badger, "lurking in angles, dark dungeons and close caves."

(5) The LEVINER or LYEMMER—evidently our old friend the limier or line hound of the Middle Ages, now said to be "a middle kind between the harrier and greyhound, may well be called a light hound. This dog, for the excellency of his conditions, namely smelling and swift running, doth follow the game with more eagerness and taketh the prey with a jolly quickness."

(6) The TUMBLER, so-called, Cox says, from turning so sharply that they tumble (their Latin name being *Vertagus*, from *vertere*, to turn), and in appearance like small mongrel greyhounds, used for taking rabbits.

(7) SPANIELS, for "springing birds for the hawk and to pick up fallen game."

(8) WHITE HOUNDS. "Those all of one colour, as all white, are the best"; those spotted with red or dun "cannot endure much labour," but those "whelpt coal black, which is seldom, commonly prove incomparable hounds." The "white spotted with black," in Cox's experience, were never the best hare-hunters; but "white, black and white, and grey streak'd white" he considered "most beautiful." Evidently, these were the descendants of our old friends, the St. Huberts, white and black.

(9) FALLOW HOUNDS, he dismisses as "fitter for princes than private gentlemen because they seldom run more than one chase, neither have they any great stomach to the hare or other small chases, and which is worst of all, they are apt to run at tame beasts."

(10) The BLOOD HOUND—now most certainly the sleuth-hound or trailer, the breed of the modern bloodhound.

(11) The DUN HOUNDS—"good for all chases and therefore of general use"; the best being red tan on all four quarters and if their legs were "freckled with red and black they then usually prove excellent hounds." Light-coloured or white legs were not good, but "few dun (i.e. red tan) hounds were ever bad hounds, being very clever." From Cox's observation, "it is wonderful to observe how much they stick upon the knowledge of their Master, especially his voice and horn and none's else, nay further they know the distinct voices of their fellows and who are babblers and hars and who not and will follow the one and not the other," we may fairly assume that Mr. Nicholas Cox's own pack consisted of these "dun" hounds.

Mr. Cox also states that "in the West Country, Cheshire, Lancashire with other woodland and hilly countries they breed Slow Hounds, which is a large great dog, tall and heavy, in Worcestershire and Bedfordshire, where open country and coverts are about equally divided, they produce a middle-sized dog, of a more nimble composure, whereas Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland and many other plain campaign (i.e. open) countries breed the light, nimble, swift, slender fleet hound." This is interesting, showing that hounds were now being bred, not so much to suit individual tastes or fashions, but to suit the country, as Lord Bathurst advises in *The Breeding of Foxhounds* (1927).

To show there is little new under the sun and that our forefathers studied hound-breeding as a science, we can refer to one whom Mr. Scarth Dixon calls the "anonymous Poet Laureate of the Charlton Hunt," someone whose name has not come down to us but who was writing about 1737:

"Scenting days are rare."

And thus put down his ideas on hound-breeding:

Not let him think 'tis shape alone gives speed in hounds and horses, but
his wind does that;

'Tis blood gives wind, proportion just the rest; then stoutness shines
when breathless jades stand still.

Consult the country first for which you breed, for this or that must
different hounds be bred "

Nicholas Cox had discovered that hounds entered to hunt stag, buck, hare or fox, preferred and were best at that game to which they had been first entered. This was a new idea (1674) and not at all the general practice among English country gentlemen—anticipating Somerville (1735), “a different hound for every chase,” by half a century.

Thus Nicholas Cox described

“the marks of a good and fair hound . . . his head of middle proportion, rather long than round, his nostrils wide, his ears large, his back bowed, the fillets great, haunches large, thighs well trussed, ham straight, the tail big at the root and the rest slender to the end, the leg big, the sole of the foot dry and formed like a fox’s, with the claws great.”

The thing was that though hounds were called gaze-hounds, bloodhounds, harriers, terriers, etc., “we generally in all our kennels and packs rank them under these heads: Enterers, Drivers, Flyers, Triers, etc.”

Mr. Cox’s names for hounds and beagles are very interesting, showing that many have not altered down the centuries :

	Beauty	(3)*Gawdy	Pluto
	Blueman	Hector	Rockwood
(2)*	Boman	Juggler	(4)*Ringwood
	Bluecap	(6)*Jewel	Rover
	Bonny	Jockey	Ranter
	Bouncer	Jenny	Ratler
	Captain	Joler	Ruler
(5)*	Capper	Jollyboy	Ranger
	Chanter	Jupiter	Royal
(5) (3)*	Countess	Juno	Rapper
(5)*	Cryer	Keeper	Ruffler
	Cæsar	Kilbuck	Spanker
(5)*	Dido	Lively	Singwell
	Driver	Lovely	Sweeplips
	Drunkard	(4)*Lady	Soundwell
	Drummer	Lilly	Stately
	Damosel	Lillups	Troler
	Darling	Madam	(1)*Thisbe
	Duchess	Maulkin	Thunder
	Dancer	(4)*Merryboy	Truman
(1)*	Daphne	Mopsie	Truelove
	Fancy	Motley	Tickler
	Fidler	Musick	Tatler
	Flippant	Nancy	Tulip
	Flurry	Nacter	Truelips
	Fuddle	Plunder	Touchstone
	Gallant	Pleasant	Traveller

Tracer	Truescent	Wonder
(6)*Touler	Tryer	Winder
Tunewell	Venus	Whipster
Tidings	Vulcan	Yerker
Trouncer	Violet	(5)*Younker
Trusty	Wanton	

Of these names those marked * have already been mentioned as names of hounds: (1) Greek, 500 B.C.; (2) Boman (Beaumont,) Master of Game, 1406; (3) Berkeley Accounts (Elizabethan), 1559-1613, (4) Shakespeare, (5) Duke of Buckingham, 1657-1687; (6) James I. (Touler or Toller being also mentioned by M. de Ligneville, chief huntsman of Lorraine, as emanating from the pack of Henry, Prince of Wales (brother of Charles I), which de Ligneville caused to be brought from England, 1635)

In the late seventeenth century vast areas of England still lay waste, and though in some parts of the country cultivated lands and pastures had been enclosed since Tudor times, the "common field" cultivation of strips divided by grass verges or a path still remained the rule throughout the greater part of the country. In the time of Nicholas Cox Great Britain had become more open to the riding man, forest restrictions had passed away, villages and towns were self-centred hives of industry, the open country beyond was downlands, "rough grounds," commons, moors, dilapidated forests scattered here and there with "gentlemen's private paleo parks." There was still little to jump and in Cox's day the hunting man, if not addicted to jumping, could ride pretty well anywhere he pleased to keep hounds in view.

Curiously enough Cox said little of the cry of hounds, from which it might be inferred that in his day people hunted in open country and could better see what hounds were doing. Seeing had taken the place of hearing—at least to a certain extent and in some parts of the country. Game was certainly much scarcer than formerly; men had to go farther afield, organise more thoroughly, and probably if the hunted animal once escaped the day was more likely to be blank—hence good noses and drive with speed was becoming, at least up north and in the open champaign country, gradually more desirable.

IV

And what did they hunt? Curiously enough Mr. Cox enumerates all the Beasts of Forest, Chase and Warren, copied almost verbatim from the old Turbervile sources, even to the extent of "rain-deer" and wolves. Wild boar are mentioned with a note

that "we have none in England," which was not strictly true, as at that time at Chartley (still famous to-day for its wild breed of white cattle) wild boar were said to be kept in the park in 1683. The last wolf in England is stated to have been killed in County Durham in 1682. (*History and Antiquities of Durham*, by Surtees.) The wild cat and the marten still existed, but ranked as vermin "not to be hunted purposely." In Cox's time hares were everywhere—in far too great quantities for the farmer's peace of mind—and, remember, large and small country gentlemen were still all farmers. According to Nicholas Cox there were two methods of hunting hares—trailing and beating. In the former, "puss" was followed up "from relief"—the spot where she had been feeding—to her form; in the latter, which Cox thought "much better sport," hounds quested or "beat" to find her on her form for themselves.

The fox was hunted also in two different methods—Above and Below Ground. In the former Cox says it was "necessary to stop all the earths if you can find them the night before you intend to hunt"—the best months being January, February and March—"for then you shall best see your hounds hunting and find his earthing, besides at these times the fox's skin is best in season." "Staunch hounds" are to be cast off at first, as few as possible, "because woods and coverts are full of sundry chases; add more as you dare trust them." If a reliable hound "called on merrily some more may be cast on to him, and when they run it on the full cry, cast off the rest, and thus you shall complete your pastime." Hound-cheering and other ceremonies were to be the same for fox-hunting as for the other chases of ancient days, except that now "hounds should kill the fox themselves."

The other way to kill a fox was "Below Ground with terriers," which appears to have been the commoner procedure in Cox's time, when the skin was still a valuable commodity. For this reason the fox was spoken of as "cased" (i.e. flayed or skinned) instead of as "broken up," used only of deer in Cox's time—yet another term of stag-hunting to be transferred to fox-hunting shades of the old *veneurs*!

Stag-hunting is referred to without much reality by Cox or in any way to distinguish him from former writers. He does refer to the ancient practice of what he calls "leasing"; the rough horseplay indulged in against offenders in the hunting-field—such as ten stripes from a pair of hound couples for coming late to the Meet, mistaking any term of art—or what was considered much worse sins, "hollering a wrong deer and leaving the Field before the death of the deer"! Buck-hunting Cox certainly enjoyed, but it was of hare-hunting that he had most original to say, and

A French Huntsman.

Le Duc de Bourbon, 1786 (after Cambrelles). Said of him that he copied the clothes of the English foxhunters and mounted his "equipage" on blood horses, "as was done in England."



indeed harc-hunting was the chief delight of the country gentlemen of his day.

Cox's contemporary, Richard Blome, was writing in 1686 about the new method of fox-hunting "when forced away the fox will lead from wood to wood a ring of four, six or ten miles, and sometimes endways about twenty miles, trying all the earths he knows." This "forced away" shows a new attitude to the fox, much more in keeping with a Beast of Venerie than of the vermin outcast of old, when it was "the part of every man to hew and back him into covert when he offered to break the same." This was the beginning of fox-hunting as we know it.

Though it is generally believed that hare-hunting formed the chief amusement of the English squires before 1750 facts emerge to prove that there were many kennels of foxhounds at that time. In 1733 the Duke of Richmond obtained a hound called "Luther" from Mr. Bright of Badsworth; pedigrees and hound lists were then in their infancy, but this Luther's pedigree has been traced and found to include the names of hounds from at least seven different kennels exclusively hunting the fox as far apart as Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Sussex and Berkshire.

In the time of Nicholas Cox horn music was still important. In his book he gives an interesting "large sculpture" (or clumsy illustration) giving "easy directions for blowing the horn." By the way, a horn was definitely now "blown," occasionally "sounded," and never "winded"—as in the time of Venerie.

At the death of a deer "assaye" was still taken, but Cox calls it "taking the Say"—the usual habit of Englishmen to clip words! At the death of a stag a "treble mort was blown by one," followed by "a whole recheat" or "farewell at parting" in consort by all those who had horns, and then a general *whoop whoop*. The old notations are well worth study (in the frontispiece of the Cresset Press edition, 1928, of Nicholas Cox's *Gentleman's Recreation*); we can well believe that they were so difficult to learn to blow properly that great establishments—like that of the Duke of Richmond—kept a special Maître de Musique to teach the hunt-servants to blow the straight metal horn now fairly universal—similar to the modern horn, but longer. (*Records of the Old Charlton Hunt*, Earl of March, 1910.) In many places the circular or curly horns adapted from the French and shaped like a cow's horn were still used, the Dampierre horn did not become general in England, probably because it added dangers in a fall—never a likely contingency in French hunting. The straight metal horn gradually supplanted the older curly types because, though giving a less melodious note, it was sharper and more audible in covert at a time when "the field" became constrained to remain outside a covert instead of in close attendance on the

hounds. Peter Beckford, in his *Thoughts on Hunting*, says he preferred the short horn, though "not as a musician." Horn music was also giving way to new things or adapting itself to fresh.

Rather delightfully Nicholas Cox, in his preface, preserves the sentiments of the old *veneurs* while adapting them to his times. "The exercise of Hunting neither remits the mind to sloth nor softness, nor (if it be used with moderation) hardens it to inhumanity, but rather inclines men to good acquaintance. It is no small advantage to be inured to bear hunger, thirst and weariness from one's childhood; to take up a timely habit of quitting one's bed early and loving to sit well and safe upon an horse. What natural delights are they when he seeth the day breaking forth those blushes and roses which poets and writers of romances only paint, but the huntsman truly courts?" With the fervour of a true lover of hounds and hound-work Nicholas Cox extols the sense of a hound "who never leaves the line but follows it through innumerable changes and varieties of other scents, even over and in the water and into the earth." We are apt to think that a hound's nose was the only thing aimed at in those days, but Cox also praises the hound who "fixes his eye on the best and fattest buck in the herd, singles him out and follows him and him only without changing through a whole herd of rascal game and leave him not till he kills him." The intelligence and "docility of dogs" fills him with delight "as it were a masterpiece of natural magic." In fact, it is all so enchanting that he warns his readers against "allowing this pleasure to entrench upon other domestic affairs. There is great danger lest we be transported with this pastime and so ourselves grow wild; haunting the woods till we resemble the beasts therein and by continual conversation with dogs, become altogether addicted to slaughter and carnage which is wholly dishonourable, being a servile employment . . . to subdue the Beasts of the Field and tyrannise over them too much is brutish in plain English." All this must have been rather new to some people (as it is to others to-day), but somehow this sentiment has echoed down all the Ages. Though little is said about it, he concludes the preface with: "No music can be more ravishingly delightful than a pack of hounds in full cry to such a man whose heart and ears are so happy to be set to the tune of such charming instruments."

v

Somerville's poem on hunting, "The Chase," appeared in 1735; it was an immediate success and ushers in a new era of hunting.

The author, William Somerville, descended, it was said, from an old family settled in Warwickshire from the time of the Normans, was born in 1677, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, was fond of field sports and continued to follow hounds almost to the day of his death in 1742. His delightful poem, which received commendation from Dr. Johnson, appealed enormously to the country squires, sporting, well-educated if conservative and unbending in their views, who were all seeking a means of adapting the Sport of Hunting to the spirit and possibilities (practicalities) of the times. The poem breathes the spirit of the Past, while describing the technique of hunting as discovered by himself.

That the whole idea of hunting at that time was still on a simple style can be gauged from a description in the *Sporting Magazine* of February, 1832, based on the reminiscences of an old sportsman entered by Somerville's old huntsman.

"The site of his kennel was well chosen . . . his kennel was spacious, with a fine brook babbling through. He kept about twelve couple of beagles, bred chiefly between the small Cotswold harrier and the Southern hound; six couple of foxhounds, rather rough and wire-haired; and five couple of otter-hounds which in the winter season made an addition to the foxhounds. The country he hunted was mostly woodland, except that where his beagles were generally thrown off, and every parish, being unenclosed, yielded excellent sport. To the feeding of his hounds and the management and arrangement of his kennel he attended himself. . . . He conducted the chase himself, leaving a man in the kennel to prepare the food, who was in the capacity of earth-stopper. His stud was four small nags, being the greatest number he ever had in the stables, employing his favourite 'Old Ball' three times a week. 'Old Ball' was a real good English hunter, standing about fifteen hands high, with black legs, short back, high in the shoulders, large barrel, thin head, cropped ears and a white blaze down the face."¹

The majority of the old huntsmen enjoyed "cunning" hunting; they condemned any sort of racing down the quarry with fast packs. Perhaps it was in this light that many had regarded such packs as those of the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond, etc. With the old squires cunning hunting consisted in the patient unravelling of the ruses of the game—no racing it down in the open or short cuts; the best pleasure was to see hounds hunt working out the line. Though Somerville was of the old hare-hunting school, he was also one of the first to break publicly into:

¹ In passing, it is interesting for hunting people to note that the well-known description generally attributed to Mr. Jorrocks about Hunting being "the image of war without its guilt" was really quoted from "The Chase."

" A different hound for every chace
 Select with judgment, nor the timid hare
 O'er matched destroy , but leave that vile offence
 To the mean, murderous, coursing crew intent
 On blood and spoil "

And Thompson, one of the early Romantic poets, author of the " Seasons " and " Rule Britannia," was of much the same mind .

" Pour all your speed into the rapid game ,
 For happy he who tops the wheeling chase ,
 Has every maze evolved, and every guile
 Disclosed , who knows the merits of the pack ,
 Who saw the villain seized, and dying hard,
 Without complaint, though by a hundred mouths
 Relentless torn . O glorious he, beyond
 His daring peers ! "

Crosses of all kinds were tried to obtain a pack suited to a country, a huntsman and the sport ; they were the rule and not the exception. (To-day there is much outcry when a Master goes to a Welsh pack for fresh blood !)

This was Somerville's ideal hound :

" . his wide-opening nose
 Upwards he curls, and his large sloe-black eyes
 Melt in soft blandishments and humble joy ,
 His glossy skin, or yellow pied, or blue,
 In lights or shades by Nature's pencil drawn,
 Reflects the various tints his ears and legs
 Fleckt here and there in gay enamell'd pride
 Rival the speckled pard his rush-grown tail
 O'er his broad back bends in an ample arch ,
 On shoulders clean, upright and firm he stands,
 His round cat foot, straight hams and wide spread thighs,
 And his low dropping chest confess his speed,
 His strength, his wind, or on the steepy hill
 Or far extended plain , in every part
 So well proportioned that the nicer skill
 Of Phidias himself can't blame thy choice
 Of such compose thy pack "

And so it came about and can easily be imagined that extreme diversity of opinion characterised English hunting up to about the time that Peter Beckford, in 1779, wrote : " Hounds cannot be perfect unless used to one scent and one style of hunting."

In hare-hunting the main object was to "undo intricate doubles, skips, quats and windings with which huntsman and hounds will be perplexed." Peter Beckford was of the old school to write " When a hare doubles, hounds should hunt through these doubles." Beckford's harriers, before he renounced hare

for fox, were a cross between the large slow-hunting hound and the little fox beagle. He admits that he arrived at an "infinity of hounds" before he achieved his object, a pack of hounds true to type, "very handsome; small yet bony; they ran well together; ran fast enough; had all the alacrity you could desire; and would hunt the coldest scent." Peter Beckford, who lies buried beside the little church in Dorset, was one of the finest masters and huntsmen of all times and a very cultured gentleman. It was said of him that "he would bag a fox in Greek, find a hare in Latin, inspect his kennels in Italian and direct the economy of the stable in exquisite French."

The pictures of those glorious sporting artists—like George Stubbs, Ben Marshall, J. N. Sartorius, Wolstenholme the Elder, and Herring, give us unsurpassed glimpses of the English squires and their sport. Lord Bearsted has given me permission to reproduce his beautiful J. N. Sartorius of Peter Beckford's hounds and hunt servants. (Plate XXIII.)

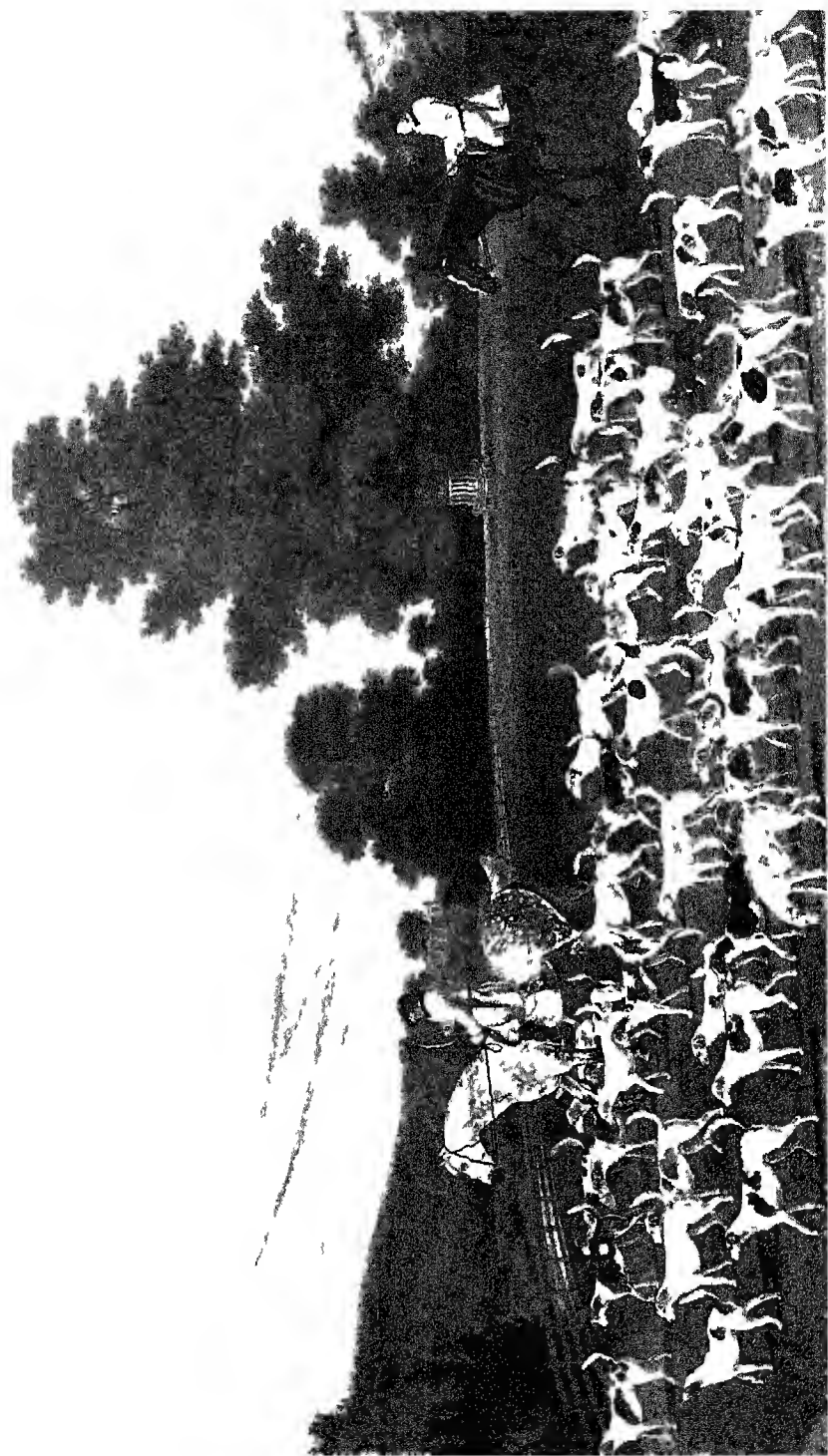
VI

Fox-hunting started in the United States about 1690—i.e. almost as long ago as in Great Britain, a fact seldom realised. In America there were no red deer or large hares, but the fox was at hand for the country gentlemen who had proceeded to the New World with all the tastes and ideas of their old homes, whether in France or Great Britain. A certain Robert Brooke is the first known M.F.H. of America. He was a Cavalier, born in 1602, who sailed for Virginia in 1650 in his own ship, taking with him his family, a large retinue of servants and his hounds. Mr. J. B. Thomas, in *Hounds and Hunting down the Ages* (1928), states that "for three hundred years descendants of these hounds continued to hunt in Maryland: they being a light tan (or sandy) colour, and amongst others also a certain Doctor Thomas Walker—a scholar, sportsman and early explorer of Virginia—is said to have imported hounds from England in 1742. . . . He is the first known Englishman to have crossed the Alleghenies into the Red Indian country, in order to explore the sources of the Cumberland river." Mr. Thomas tells a story that while on this dangerous trip one of the Doctor's hounds was so badly mauled by a bear that he could not travel except in a basket on a horse, and when another precious hound was killed by an elk they called the newly discovered creek after the dead hound, "Tumbler"—the head water of the mighty Kentucky river—Tumbler Creek.

George Washington was a neighbour of Dr. Walker. Washington is known to have imported French hounds; some being sent to him by Lafayette. Washington's diary is full of references to hunting and the weather for hunting; had the beating of the

Peter Beckford's hounds and hunt servants. (Painted by F. Sartorius, 1734-1804).

(By permission of Viscount Bearsted, M.C.)





red coats not been forced on him he would have likely spent a long and happy life as a M.F.H. in Virginia!

In 1786 two English T.B. horses were imported into America and laid the foundations of T.B. stock in that continent.

The first Fox-hunting Club in America—the Gloucester Hunt Club—started in 1808 and “imported the best English foxhounds, including a red bitch called ‘Music.’” In 1830 a bitch with five whelps crossed the Atlantic from Lord Donegal’s pack for the Baltimore Hunt; while in the Old French Colony of Louisiana French hounds of Norman breed hunted panther and bear in the sugar-cane brakes. (Later these hounds went to Texas) From the old accounts of hounds sent to North America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it would seem that British hounds then were red, red and white, and black and tan (*Foxhunting in America*, Allen Potts, 1912.)



American foxhound (from a photograph).

Local conditions in the U.S.A. naturally differ considerably and hunting has developed in its own lines, in some districts to-day being probably closer to Stuart England than anything in the Home Country, both regarding hounds, horn music and conditions, while in others the atmosphere is much that of the English Midlands. In 1928 Mr. Thomas wrote: “To-day in America there are several hundred thousand hounds hunting foxes and wolves in all parts of the United States.”

In South America, not only conditions, but tradition, developed on different lines after de Soto, “the noble governor with his train of 600 knights in doublets and his priests in splendid vestments, with Portuguese in shining armour, his horses, hounds and hogs, passed in triumphal procession to kingdoms of gold and ivory.” (*An American History*, David S. Muzzey, 1920.)

In the British Isles stag-hunting as a sport probably began to decline in the early years of George II’s reign—if we may draw an

Carrying on Old Traditions.

(Top picture) *The Duke of Beaufort brings his hounds to the centenary meet of the Heythrop (Nov. 1935), a country previously hunted by his ancestors.*

(Dennis Moss photo)

(Lower) *The V. W. H. (Earl Bathurst’s) in Cirencester. Park (1935) where Queen Anne hunted.*

(Fox photos)

inference from the fact that 1728 saw the introduction of what was considered by many to be the travesty of the real thing, the carted deer. That this attitude, which was worked up partly by sentiment and partly for political ends, was not altogether well founded must be believed by anyone reading the late Lord Ribblesdale's delightful *The Queen's Hounds & Stag Hunting Recollections*. (That the hunting of carted deer was highly technical and devoid of cruelty is evident from his testimony how the corn-fed stags lived happily beside the kennels and generally popped back into their cart at the end of a long day with evident relish, was most interesting to me who have never taken part in this type of sport) It is important that the fact of the Royal Buck-hounds hunting red deer in Windsor Forest being so fashionable throughout the reign of the Georges, did much to maintain the popularity of hunting among young men of fashion—such as the "Corinthians" and would-be fashionable Bucks of the day. Fashion plays a great part in our daily life, and sports as with clothes and pastimes—from tennis to sunbathing.

That stag-hunting was fashionable cannot be doubted; there being 128 packs in England by the end of the century. Probably the "new rich" and townspeople by such means began before the era of trains to enjoy a day's hunting and to pay handsomely for the same privilege. How else can we account for the many packs of stag-hounds hunting carted deer which sprang up near and around the fashionable new "watering-places" such as Harrogate, Cheltenham, etc.

In 1813 the Charlton Hunt was broken up; the fourth Duke of Richmond giving many of the hounds to the Prince Regent to augment the Royal Buck-hounds. The Prince liked galloping and fast hounds, but George III in his old age, when he got heavy, had the pack very much "slowed down" so that he could keep with them; in fact, hounds often had to be stopped three times in a hunt to allow the gallant but stout monarch to catch up! A Colonel Thornton took the best of the Royal Buck-hounds to France in 1814. The Charlton country is now hunted by Lord Leconfield's and Lord Cowdray (whose yellow collars perpetuate the Goodwood connection—yellow being the Richmond private livery).

The Royal Buck-hounds, with their cross of Charlton blood, then probably represented some of the last French blood in Britain. Lord Ribblesdale (in *The Queen's Hounds*) says that a lemon-pye hound called "Minos" from Goodwood was much used; George IV liked light-coloured hounds, while the famous Royal huntsman, Charles Davis, preferred tan—then coming into the forefront of fashion because of the great name made by "Belvoir tan." Neither was very successful, as Goodall in 1872

said the Queen's Hounds were mostly black and white! A particularly good hound, "Luxury," by the Royal hound "Lightning," out of "Belvoir Syren," is mentioned by Charles Davis as "the stoutest of any blood in England"; "Lightning" was from the Duke of Richmond's blood

At that time and for a long time, as can be seen in the old pictures by Wootton, Stubbs and Sartorius, tan was a luxury, otherwise the hounds of the day were similar to modern fox-hounds, though with unrounded ears, more "snipey" noses, mostly white or light coloured, and occasionally spotted like the old-fashioned pointer to whom some of them were nearly related.¹

It is most regrettable that the direct breed of ancient English stag-hounds, i.e. hounds bred specially for stag-hunting, has died out, except for possible touches in the old-established Kennels at Badminton, Wentworth, Belvoir, etc. Mr. Mellish's pack of old lemon pyes—which hunted wild fallow-deer in Epping Forest until 1805—Lord Ribblesdale says were the foundation of the old North Devon pack, predecessors of the Devon and Somerset Stag-hounds, and the last pack of the real old strain in England. No one can be sure what these hounds looked like, but the Reverend Mr. Russell states "they were fast and with such good voices that in the right wind they could be heard running four miles away." In *The Chase of the Wild Red Deer* Dr. Collins says:

"A nobler pack no man ever saw. They had been in the country for years . . . about 26 to 28 inches high, colour generally hare-pied, yellow, yellow and white, or badger pied, with long ears, deep muzzles, large throats and deep chests. In tongue they were perfect . . . even when running at top speed they always gave plenty of tongue and their great size enabled them to cross the long heath and rough sedgy pasturage of the forest without effort or difficulty."

In 1825 the pack was sold to a Mr. Shard of Little Somborne to hunt carted deer in Hampshire, but "Nimrod" said they proved too big for a flint country and they are supposed all to have been dispersed or sold eventually to go to Germany. A Mr. Fitt, writing in the *Sporting Magazine* of April, 1840, refers to "Wind-sor," a Tipperary Buck-hound, as "a typical buck-hound of George III's day (about 1820)—colour white, with a small spot of yellow upon each ear, heavy dewlap, immense forepart and somewhat cat ham, which belonged to their pristine form."

¹ It is said the foundation of the British pointer was some French pointers sent over as a present to James I. "Dash," a celebrated pointer of the day painted by Stubbs, was half a foxhound, and Lord Ribblesdale says that in his time many well-known pointers had a cross of foxhound.

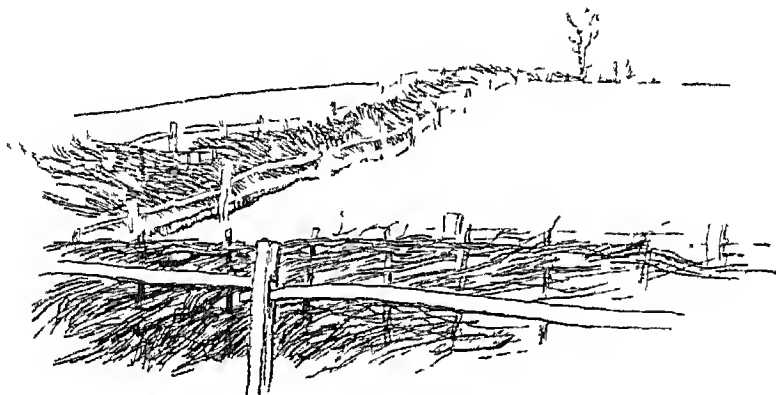
VII

After 1750 new enclosures began to completely alter hunting conditions. Except for the ancient park enclosures, land in England had been cultivated under the ancient system of the Common Field of feudal times. Each commoner had the right to graze so many animals on the common pasture, in proportion more or less to the amount of plough-land he possessed or rented near the village. As the population grew, more food had to be grown to feed them and wheat started to go up in price and to be more worth growing. Plough-land increased gradually, "enclosures" came to be made by the bigger and better agriculturalists to make new plough-fields and to keep cattle segregated from the common stock—the only way to improve and breed. The Common Field system had worked well enough in the feudal and monastic days, but under the new nobility of Queen Anne and early Georgian days, with the commencement of demarcation between country and industrial town life these methods would not work. It was not only the idea of new rich and private agriculturalists: there was a popular clamour to enclose—in response to which, gradually, Acts of Parliament were passed to legalise each commoner taking a strip of common land equal to his rights therein and enclosing it.

Consequently, the English countryside took on a completely new appearance of a patchwork of brand new banks, ditches, walls, and fences enclosing irregular patches of grassland—the end of hunting, everyone said. One often reads now in Radical-minded history books that these Enclosure Acts robbed the land from the people and gave it to the rich. The facts are that the Enclosure Acts granted the right to each existing commoner to enclose his portion of the common. Of course there was often much jockeying and litigation over the proceedings between the commoners, and some got a better piece than others, but on the whole Enclosures were considered then as now, beneficial to the community as a whole. The very small commoner—the man with a tiny patch of arable and so perhaps the right of grazing a cow or two or a donkey—got only one tiny field which was no use to him if he could not afford to fence it; so he was generally bought out under the Act and paid compensation, which he very often spent and then had nothing left to live on. Hence the outcry against enclosures among the smaller men which was worked up for political purposes. To-day there are still patches of "common" with "rights" under the Lord of the Manor as in feudal times in many parts of England, on which a few beasts, geese or a pony or two gain a precarious living for some "commoner." Such must have been the appearance of the greater part of the country-

side before the Enclosure Acts. The process of change was slow. In Lord Spencer's hunting diary the entry for December 9th, 1773, mentions Lady Charles Spencer, "to-day twice broke her stirrup but did not fall from her horse and notwithstanding these delays and the being obliged to be carried over a brook by Sam the Whipper-in she was very near hounds the whole day and staid to the last. It was looked on as a pleasant chace, being over fine grounds with few difficulties." Thus was the cream of the Pytchley country now heavily enclosed.

Between 1750 and the Napoleonic Wars "enclosures" were still in progress, marked by the planting, by a new type of land-ownership though often the same people, of the new quick-set thorn fences in heavy land, which in their infancy were protected by a ditch and a guard rail of stout oak to keep out cattle—thence



A Leicestershire double over to-day.

called an *oxer*. If the guard rails were on both sides, it was then a "Leicestershire double over"—an obstacle familiar to us in Alken prints, but now practically extinct. There is little doubt that enclosures for a time must have seemed like the death of hunting as then practised. Probably the Old School hated *oxers* as we dislike slippery roads and *wie* to-day. *Oxers* jumped from a standstill must have been alarming obstacles—"doubling" or jumping on and off being probably the safest method of tackling them. Gradually the fences grew up. Boundary fences jumped out of a trot by 152 hunters must have been almost unnegotiable.

It is said (by The Druid) that in 1780, i.e. about the middle of Mr Meynell's long mastership, a Mr Childe of Kinet, called the "Flying Childe," started galloping over fences on, it was said, "half-bred Arabians," greatly to Mr Meynell's disgust, causing

the latter to say that he "had not a day's happiness since." Mr. Childe's example was quickly followed, starting a new era in hunting. Mr. Hugo Meynell got his own back by making them pay handsomely for the privilege—"subscriptions" were started—another shock to the old school! To this was added the enormity of "preserving foxes"—a manner of speaking intolerable to the old "vermin catchers." From being an outcast the fox now began to take pride of place and all the pomp of the premier "Beast of Venerie." This was a complete innovation, or more properly, re-adaptation of the science of Venerie to the times. Mr. Hugo Meynell is called by the late Duke of Beaufort—himself one of the greatest authorities on Fox-hunting—the "true Father of modern fox-hunting." From being a rural amusement to vary the dull monotony of country life for the resident nobility, squirearchy and parsonalty, Mr. Hugo Meynell organised fox-hunting into the system much as it is to-day.

Mr. Meynell had started by breeding hounds to suit himself for size and weight. He now had to breed them for speed to save them from his thrusters. It must have been a heart-breaking job; it is to his eternal credit that he solved the problem. His methods were copied throughout the country. Mr. Meynell's famous "Billesden Coplow run" took place on February 24, 1800—twenty-eight miles in two hours and fifteen minutes—i.e. at the rate of twelve miles an hour (compare that with the Old Charlton run of 1739 at two and a half miles an hour—see p. 341).

Of course it was said outside Leicestershire, by the Old Squires, that nose had been sacrificed to speed, etc.¹ Mr. Meynell certainly evolved "drive" from what the Old School had called "questing."

By 1800 fox-hunting had definitely made a public appeal for the first time, which is to say that other than residents began coming out hunting, even taking houses for the purpose, and making a hunting season their aim and object in life. This would have appalled the old *veneurs*, as it undoubtedly did many of the Old Squires. At first, of course, there was much jealousy between the old habitués and new sportsmen from the provincial towns who flocked into the hunting-field. The town outsider was either a "cockney tailor" or a "Corinthian"—neither being particularly popular with the provincial magnate—the former, a sort of "new rich," aping the fashionable and the latter the ultra-fashionable young rips of the Regency who fashioned themselves on "Old Q"

¹ One peculiarity Mr. Meynell had—at a check he used to cast his hounds in three parts, himself, huntsman and whipper-in, maintaining that it saved time. Probably this would be before foxhounds had developed their modern drive and dash. Mr. Meynell had two packs of hounds, divided into old and young hounds—the latter hunting two days a week in the woodlands and unfashionable parts of the country. (*The Meynellian Science*, Hawkes.)

and Beau Brummel and batted on what were practically fraudulent transactions on the turf and by political chicanery. Most of the Corinthians were rather patrons of sport than good sportsmen themselves.

"Corinthianism" was really laid low by the Duke of Wellington's young officers, who "fresh from the glories of Waterloo returned to England to bring out a second edition of cavalry charges in the pastures of Leicestershire, and fox-hunting was the most popular medium for healthy enjoyment, healthy excitement and healthy exercise." (*A Century of English Fox-hunting*, G. F. Underhill.) The dissipation of the Regency had ceased to be amusing and become disgusting. A gallop over Leicestershire became the ideal for a fashionable world led by a more robust type, like the gallant Lord Cardigan of Balaclava fame.

VIII

The great Duke of Wellington gave Hunting his blessing. I think his influence on fox-hunting is insufficiently realised. For years, all through the long Peninsular War, he had kept fox-hounds while campaigning and as regularly as possible attended meets and went hunting with his officers. There are many letters among his State papers of the time relative to his care of these hounds. Our Portuguese Allies thought the English quite mad and many stories got about as to the escapades of various hunting officers. How one young subaltern chased a fox into the French lines, was taken prisoner but honourably escorted back to his own lines by other officers who could comprehend the spirit if not the actual game. At Badminton still there is a letter from the Iron Duke thanking the Duke of Beaufort for a draft of hounds brought out to him by his A.D.C.—the latter's son, Lord Worcester.

Scarlet has always been a Royal colour, as has already been pointed out. It seems probable that the habitual wearing of scarlet¹ in the hunting-field dates back to the return of the British Army after the Napoleonic Wars. It was the custom then and for many years afterward for ex-officers to continue wearing their regimental uniforms—at that date, of course, mostly scarlet. Anyhow the Corinthians died a natural death and it is more than likely their demise was hastened by the great success of the scarlet-coated heroes, both in the hunting-field and the drawing-room. Until that time gentlemen had worn their ordinary clothes

¹ There is an interesting fact that M. de Marincourt, writing in the time of Louis XIII of the most suitable stuff for making hunting clothes that withstand water, being "a cloth of Berry dyed scarlet." (He also suggested as a suitable trimming for the hat of a *veneur* a cord plaited with the tresses *de sa maitresse* and silk of her favourite colour!)

out hunting—coats of all colours, dark green, dark blue, snuff, in velveteen predominating.¹ Many of the old nobility maintained their hunt-servants like their other private servants, in their own personal livery—such, for example, the Berkeley and the Old Berkeley, in the “tawny”-orange Fitzhardinge livery (said to have been adopted during the Cromwellian era to please the Parliamentary Party, tawny being the London and Parliamentary colour); Lord Lonsdale’s “Lowther red” (claret) worn to-day by the Pytchley, mastered by a Lowther. The Duke of Beaufort’s field wear his own private “blue and buff” when given the Hunt button, a uniform which goes back at least five generations at Badminton—the blue is said to have been the old Stuart “true blue” as first worn by the brave Montrose, eventually becoming the traditional sign of Jacobite sympathisers, thence the Tory Party colours, as yellow tended to become the livery of the Whigs. The Hunt staffs of some few Hunts to-day still wear the six coat-tail buttons on their livery, showing that they are a private pack, or until recently a private pack—gentlemen’s private servants always wearing six tail buttons. The *tricorne* hats, thigh boots and plush coats of Queen Anne’s days gave place in the country gradually to the top hat, top boots (Beau Brummel is said to have started the fashion for yellow-tops—still worn by the Belvoir, the Duke of Rutland’s), and the ankle-length “bed-gown” type of cloth coat, with deep roll collar, and more suitable for the depth of winter and long distances from home, the skirts of which tended to become shorter and shorter until in Victorian days coats approached the present fashion. The noble houses of Beaufort, Yarborough, Zetland, Fitzwilliam and Northumberland remain to-day with some little character still left of the great feudal autocracy of the past, but the majority of the old hunting districts have split up into small domains subject to the limited government of the Master of a subscription pack. However the Master in the hunting-field of even the humblest two-day-a-week country still retains the ancient status of the Master of Game; his word is law and his rule during the season without question.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the attraction of hunting as a popular amusement, of course, brought in a horde of professionals of one kind and another, as surely as any wave of speculation brings in a swarm of share-pushers. Several of such “sporting characters” are shown up by Surtees, together with the rascally grooms and drunken huntsmen like Tom Moody, who fattened on hunting in what was called its palmy days. It is

¹ It is only comparatively recently that the Duke of Beaufort’s Hunt staff have ceased to dress in green velveteen. It was so expensive.

well-nigh certain that there were huntsmen of this type, but there were also men of a very fine stamp, such as Harry Ayris of the Berkeley, Richard Burton of the Tidworth, Joe Maiden of the Cheshire, Payne with the Duke of Beaufort's, Thomas Oldaker, huntsman to the 5th Lord Berkeley and to Mr Henry Combe, Thomas Goosey of the Belvoir.

Not even the slight account of the birth of modern fox-hunting is complete without some mention of the great Masters of Hounds whose names one constantly comes across in the books, memoirs, letters, etc., of the times and whose influence on the country gentlemen of their generation—that is to say, on the governing party of the day—was tremendous.

(1) MR. JOHN CORBET, who hunted the Warwickshire from 1791 till 1811, was called the "Father of the Trojans" because he bred Trojan, one of the most famous stallion hounds of all time. He hunted the whole of Warwickshire, including the Atherstone and N. Warwickshire, without any subscriptions except five pounds a year from each member for earth stopping. His civility in the field was proverbial in a hard-swearing age. To the rider seen in the middle of hounds he would say: "Pray, Sir, hold hard; you will spoil your own sport."

(2) MR. THOMAS ASSHETON-SMITH also took the Quorn hounds in 1806 at the age of thirty with the reputation of being the best man to hounds in England. He was one of the straightest men across country that ever rode to hounds and was the first to say that if a man threw his heart over a big fence the horse would be sure to follow. He hunted the Quorn until 1816, when he moved to the Burton country, where he stayed till 1824, and two years later started fox-hunting in a manner and on a then unheard-of scale at his home at Tedworth in Hampshire. The Squire, as he was called, continued to hunt the Tedworth country until his death in 1858 after he had been a M.F.H. for fifty-two years and shown on the poor-scenting sheep-downs of Hampshire and Wiltshire the equal of that of the famous shires.

(3) SQUIRE GEORGE OSBALDESTON who was one of the greatest all-round sportsmen of all time and the breeder of "Furrier." Born in 1787 he was a M.F.H. for thirty-five seasons, during several of which he hunted hounds six days a week. He was one of the most famous breeder of hounds, a well-known steeplechase rider and one of the best over Leicestershire. When his hounds were sold at Tattersalls six couple fetched 1360 guineas—Mr. Hervey-Combe purchasing them for the Old Berkeley country (where Oldaker was huntsman). He died in 1866. A writer in *March*, 1818, when the famous Squire Osbaldeston's first season with the Quorn was drawing to a close, states: "Hounds are excellent; the bitches have reached the climax, for what was once called

fox-hunting may now more properly be called fox-racing." Squire Osbaldeston hunting hounds himself always wore a cap, though hats were then the fashion for Masters and some hunt-servants (1826). (Cecil in *Records of the Chase*.)

(4) MR. JOHN WARDE, who took the Pytchley in 1797, bred hounds remarkable then for their bone, size and power.

(5) LORD ALTHORP gave up a most promising career as a statesman so soon as he felt his country could dispense with his services in order to hunt the Pytchley. He bought the hounds from Mr. John Warde for one thousand pounds in 1808, and had them until a bad fall forced him to resign in 1817. He introduced a lighter, quicker build of hound. After a late sitting in the House of Commons it was his regular custom to gallop from London to Northamptonshire in time to hunt with the Pytchley next morning, relays of horses being kept ready for him all night on the road.

(6) SQUIRE FORESTER of Willey, a well-known early hunting character in Shropshire, together with his Whipper-in, Tom Moody, and Miss Phœbe Higgs, the original of Surtees' Lucy Glitters.

Of the Squire someone wrote :

" Nicking and craning he deemed a crime,
Nobody rode harder, perhaps, in his time."

(7) MR. JOHN MYTTON (1796-1834) whose adventurous hunting life was written by the famous first hunting correspondent, "Nimrod," Mr. C. J. Apperley.

(8) "GENTLEMAN SMITH," to distinguish him from Mr. Tom Assheton-Smith and others, hunted the Hambledon, the Craven and the Pytchley. He wrote one of the best books on fox-hunting ever written by a practical master of hounds, *Extracts from the Diary of a Huntsman* (1838). He discovered much of the science of fox-hunting.

(9) MR. CHAWORTH MUSTERS had hounds in Lincolnshire. A charming and cultured gentleman and a M.F.H. of the first calibre, it was said that he could "have leaped, hopped, ridden, run, fought, danced, fished, swum, shot, fenced, played cricket, tennis and skated against any man in England."

Mr. John Chaworth Musters took the Pytchley in 1821, hunted the country with his own pack from Nottinghamshire at a time when "bullock fences and all the variety necessary to keep in cattle, stiff stiles, locked gates and wide brooks, bedeck the grass-country in great profusion." The fences were not cut and the country wild and hairy.

(10) The first EARL OF LONSDALE hunted the Cottessmore 1788-1802 and again 1806-42. Osbaldeston wrote that these hounds were "a fine pack, but too large for so hilly a country and were

not quick hunters ; they tailed when the scent was good and were what I call 'dwellers,' as if they had a distant cross of the Southern Hound or Blood Hound. Some of their notes also gave me that idea." (I believe the Duke of Beaufort got some of these hounds to add bone to his.) "Nimrod" states that in 1860 "Belvoir and Broklesby had smaller hounds, while at Badminton and Wentworth (Earl Fitzwilliam) and the Cottesmore Kennels the hounds were larger and heavier."

There were, of course, many other famous characters in the hunting-field of this date, but at least those mentioned, as well as Surtees' immortals, should be familiar to hunting people, as historically they had more influence on the trend of the times than most of the politicians whose names figure in history books of the period.

By 1849 there were more foxhounds than harriers—said Gelert's *Guide to the Hounds of England*, an observation supported by "Scrutator" in *Recollections of Fox-hunting* (1861) This was quite new.

IX

Up to 1800 the general method of travelling was on horseback, as most of the local roads were too bad in the winter for wheeled traffic. Rich people travelled in their own carriages, either sending on changes of horses in advance or more usually hiring a new pair of horses at a Posting House with a postillion to ride them to the next, where they changed again.¹

In 1759, where water carriage was not available, coal sacks were still slung skilfully over the backs of pack-horses breasting the Welsh hills. In that primitive way the textiles of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Cotswolds had still to travel when Walpole was Prime Minister ; and when Josiah Wedgwood began his career as a master potter, in the year that Quebec was taken, the clay and the finished crockery still entered and left the Five Towns on the back of horses or even the donkey. The uncompromising zeal of John Wesley for the salvation of souls was spread from horseback. Up till 1834 coal was carried into Leicester on pack-horses (Mr. Guy Paget, *Life of Dick Christian*).

The badness of transport in early Georgian times was unbelievable. The making of canals only began with the reign of George III. In the winter the roads were often bottomless bogs into which horses sank up to their girths and waggons could not

¹ The derivation of Post came from the Roman "posts" situated every twenty miles along important roads, where a horse was kept ready saddled and bridled at all hours of the day or night in case of an important messenger passing through post haste. London-to-Edinburgh "posts" took three days in 1635, but in 1715 six days. Till 1784 "mails" were carried on horseback

be moved at all. Toll-bars were set up by private enterprise with Parliamentary powers to tax the traffic and keep the surface in repair, while on the downs drovers used their wits to recover old tracks and green ways to avoid the obnoxious tolls. To-day many old "Roman roads," trackways and drove-roads survive in hunting counties, reminiscent of the romantic history of transport down the Ages. Soon after Waterloo, the main roads remade by Macadam offered a new surface to the new light vehicles.

In 1754 the Flying Coach had advertised: "However incredible it may appear, this coach (barring accidents) will actually arrive in London in $4\frac{1}{2}$ days after leaving Manchester." London to York was then a week's journey and in the time of the "Forty-Five" communication between Scotland and London was more reliable by sea than by land. The reign of William IV saw the Coaching Age at its height, with road travel raised to a science that regarded as "marvellous" $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour over long distances—a few years before its extinction by the Railway Age.

The number of horses of the light-horse stamp bred in England for coaching alone must have been enormous, for one company working the Brighton-London route is known to have kept 1500 horses for the job, and for one coach alone running between London and York it was necessary to have about 200 horses. "Nimrod" said that four years in a coach was only possible to horses absolutely sound, with good feet and legs, and well bred. Horse-breeding was one of the main industries of Georgian England.

And now as to hunters. To keep with the new hounds it was necessary to have new horses—fast blood-horses; and, indeed, really it was the other way round, as it was blood-horses in the hunting-field that first forced the pace!

Each gentleman hunting probably kept a larger stud than would be the case to-day—not counting his hacks and carriage horses.

There was little attempt until the middle of the century to get horses scientifically fit or fed. They were kept in ill-ventilated and dark stables, but probably were out a good deal more, did more long slow work and had no tarred roads on which to hammer their legs—though on occasions even the best hunters did their turn in a carriage or gig, probably to the benefit of their wind and limbs. Sometimes, hunters were kept out at grass liberally fed on beans, but the majority, like the best coach-horses, lived in stables and were well-groomed. Stablemen and labour were cheap.

Lord Sefton, with the Quorn in Leicestershire, is said to have been the first to have "second horses" out hunting (unless one

counts Henry VIII, who regularly had second horses when he hunted). As pace increased it became the fashion to have horses clipped, or as it was called, "shaved"; hitherto, most hunters had been rough-coated, often being turned out after a day's hunting and seldom rugged-up.

It is true that every rider of each generation has to adapt himself to his own particular conditions. Meets were long distances apart, sometimes distances home were very great; so men rode with long stirrup leathers, comfortably in deep-seated saddles. A fall was a more "hateful thing" than it is to-day, though there were many who could say with Lord Spencer: "I believe I have fallen into every field in the county." The horse as a safe conveyance came to mean much more than it had ever meant before, except perhaps to the armoured knights. It was only that the English thoroughbred race-horse had now reached such a pitch of excellence that the raw material was at hand to develop the stamp of hunter required for the Midlands. The Eastern blood imported for a hundred years had now fixed the stamp of English blood-horse.

The feeling for blood-hunters is so admirably suggested by Bromley Davenport's "Dream of an old Meltonian" in the thrilling lines, as he rides down to the Whissendine brook:

"Oh now let me know the full worth of your breeding.
Brave son of Belzoni, be true to your sires,
Sustain old traditions—remember you're leading
The cream of the cream in the Shire of the Shires!"

The doings of the race-course were imitated by the "bloods" in the grass countries. "Blood" was the rage. Hunters were bred, better and better and to get as near as possible to the blood of that horse of the century, Eclipse—great-great-grandson of the "Darley Arabian." Alken's famous pictures show many grey hunters—a characteristic of the old Herrings, Stubbs and Woottons; every grey horse or mare in the *English Thoroughbred Stud Book* traces to "Alcock's Arabian" or the "Brownlow Turk." In early days our blood stock showed numbers of blacks, greys, and whites, but it has gradually become almost entirely a race of bays and chestnuts.

Colour has a mysterious potency in blood; we are only on the threshold of discoveries leading to the whys and wherefores of inherited and acquired characteristics. "Mendelianism" as a science applied to humans or the animal world is only in its infancy—but we gain constant justification of the fact that "like begets like" and that ancient family strains are constantly reproduced, whether in form, character or colour. Three

"certainties" on each side of the pedigree should transmit their characteristics invariably.

For a long time the characteristic "bay with black points of the Arab" reigned supreme among successful horses on the turf, then chestnut seemed as successful. Eclipse, Stockwell, Doncaster, Blair Atholl, Hermit, Apology and Bend Or were all chestnuts, to take but a few famous names almost at random. To-day there is a remarked return to bay, whether of race-horses or blood-hunters.

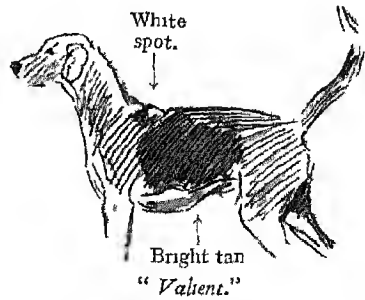
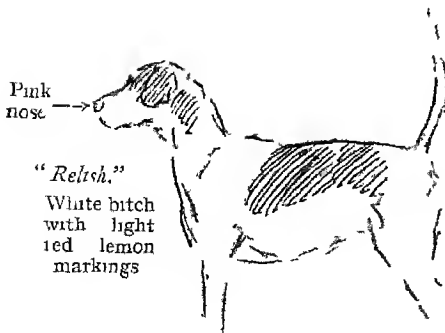
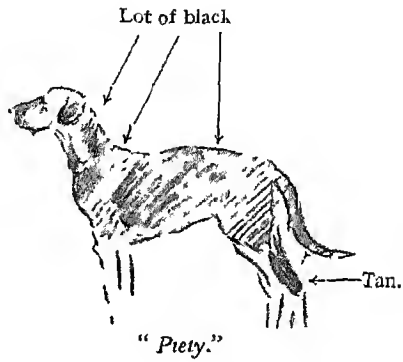
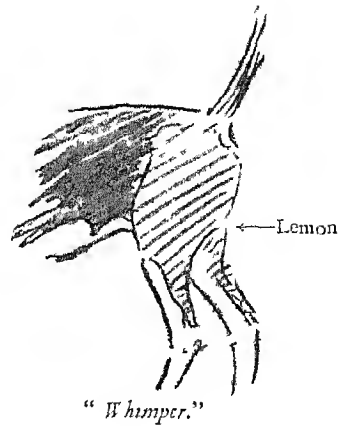
White faces¹ and white legs have always been considered the mark of a good horse. Eclipse had a white blaze down his face and one white off hind; Stockwell had black spots on his hind quarters—as did many of his descendants. In Eclipse's pedigree there are a dozen mares whose pedigree is given as "unknown"—presumably they were of "native English blood"—"the best mares in the world to breed from," as the Duke of Newcastle called them.

Lord Bathurst, in his book on *Foxhounds & Their Breeding*, has pointed out the potency of "colour" in hounds—it is the same in horses. To my mind it is most amusing to lean over the Paddock rails at any Steeple-chase or Point-to-Point Meeting and study the "types" of horses, speculating as to their origin; here you may see the chestnut with white blaze, there a typical "Barb head," the all-over dark brown of the native "hobbie," the white star of Arabia, the cream mane of the "Isabel," and occasionally the black spine of the ancient Northern dun or the sacred "thumb print" of the fine Arabian of the desert.

By 1806 Melton was the centre of the new fashionable fox-hunters who "posted from London to hunt with the Quorn, Cottesmore and Belvoir and were among the most distinguished men of the day, distinguished by birth, refinement, and wit; soldiers, diplomats, statesmen, foreign ambassadors, and noblemen of the first order." Their gay goings on have passed into the glamour of Romance, but on the whole Melton in the early days was renowned for its high courage, good sportsmanship and happy rivalries, so charmingly depicted by famous artists like the Ferneleys, George Morland, Ben Marshall and the engraver, H. Alken.

About 1820 to 1840 practical jokes and "quizzing" were fashionable, also rivalry in the hunting-field, particularly rivalry between one Hunt and another. Even Surtees, who belongs to a

¹ Does this white date back to some connection with the Tartar hordes and their white-nosed favourite horses? Genghis Khan valued above all his "white-faced horses," one thousand of which were slaughtered at his death, together with three hundred virgins, for his delight in the Next World!



"The potency of color"—the markings of hounds, Blankney Kennels, 1935—
showing some of the old strains.

later generation, concentrates on ridicule, quizzed his great friend "Nimrod" as Pomponious Ego and annoyed all his hunting friends by making a grocer a master of hounds. *Handley Cross* was first published in 1843—and one imagines that the man who created Mr. Jorrocks, James Pigg, Mr. Soapy Sponge, Lucy Glitters and Facey Romford must have based a lot of these characters on his personal experiences. But it is certainly true that at the time in which Surtees wrote, fox-hunting was about at its zenith as an organised and national pursuit; the fact is that the author was out to tease, annoy—"quiz" as they called it then, "pull the leg" as we would call it now—the hundreds of men who were then taking to the sport with little knowledge. It became the custom for men to hunt in Leicestershire for a season and then to return to their own countries and imitate the hunting establishments of the fashionable countries.

It was not until 1877 that the Foxhound Show at Peterborough was founded, though pedigrees had been studied for many years and kennel books had been regularly kept. About 1853 hunting had become a recognised institution for the benefit of the paying public, rather than the amusement of a privileged landowner and his friends and tenants. Meets were advertised and subscription lists placed on a business footing.

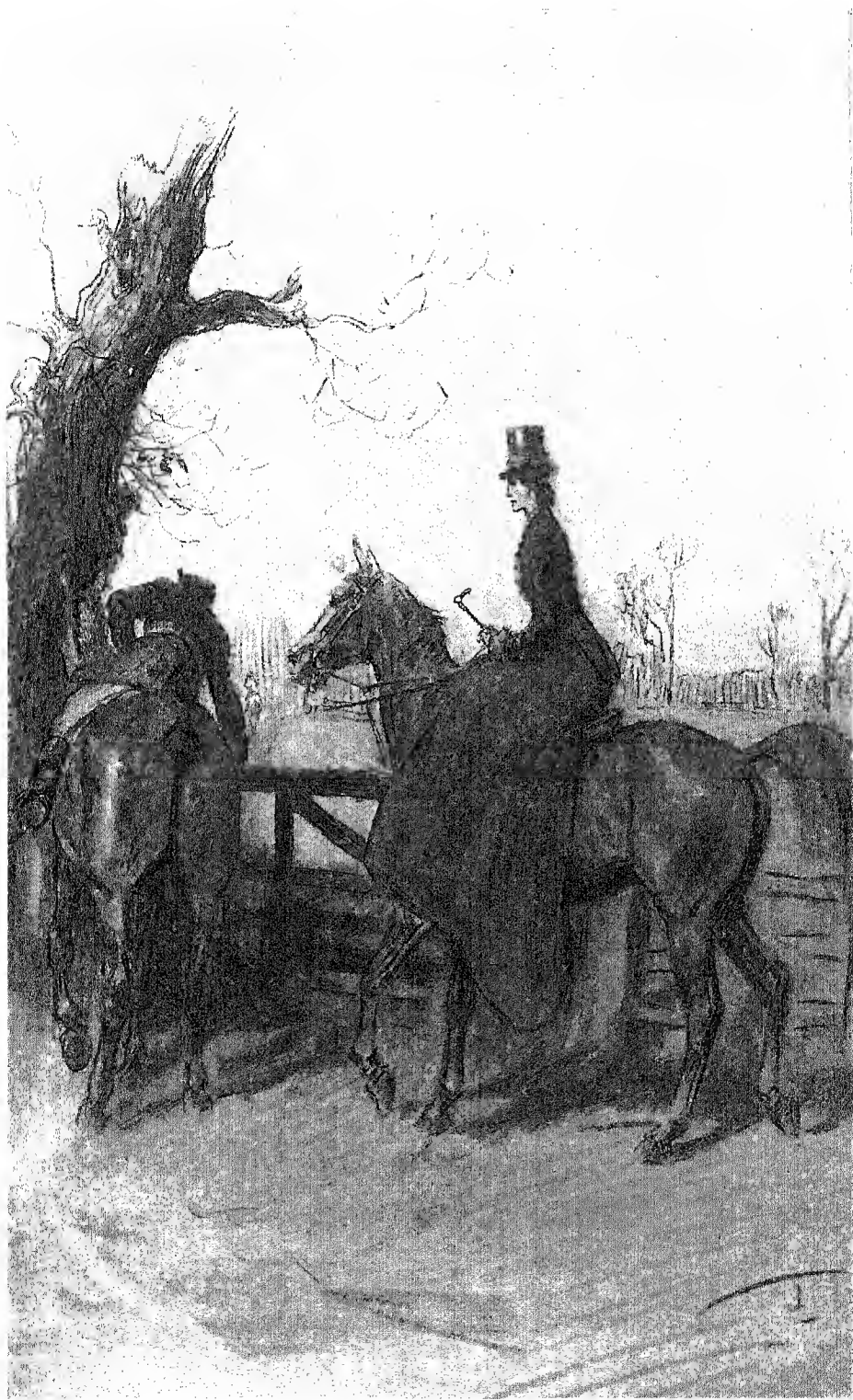
The coming of the railways ended the old sort of hunting. Mr. Delmé Ratcliffe predicted conclusively that railways would become "the most oppressive monopoly ever inflicted on a free country"; railways were deemed the death-knell of hunting.

X

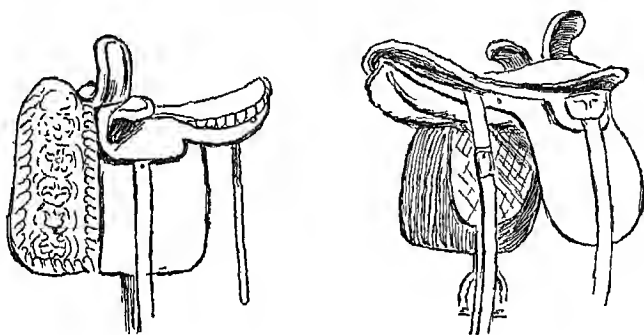
The hunting-field up to that time had seen very little feminine society. There were indeed a few well-known women who regularly rode to hounds—more in the nature of "characters" or appendages to a hunting establishment, such as Lucy Glitters portrayed by Surtees or the celebrated Miss Phoebe Higgs, said to have been "the most reckless horsewoman who ever rode to hounds." (*A Century of English Fox-hunting*, G. F. Underhill) And there were others like the celebrated Marchioness of Salisbury who kept a pack of dwarf foxhounds at Hatfield, hunting them herself in very magnificent style with her servants in sky blue livery with black velvet collars. The great Duke of Wellington did her the honour to turn out in this hunt uniform on occasions.¹

But on the whole women did not grace the hunting-field until well after 1850. The first stage, as Lady Violet Greville points out in her little book, *Ladies in the Field*, was driving to the meet in smart carriages, followed by "riding out to have a look at the hounds"

Early Victorian lady riding out to look for hounds.



in the safe company of an elderly relation or an old groom. The truth was that the reaction from the Regency days was so great that no girl with any pretensions to be "a lady" was allowed to do anything but fancy-stitches in the drawing-room—exercise and physical prowess of any kind being distinctly discouraged. Ladies did ride, however, and gradually they took to the hunting-field on quiet hacks and clean-bred hunters, clad in silk hats and veils on top of their demure curls, tight-fitting little coats to set off dainty figures and long trailing skirts. The latter look to us most unsuitable for riding and, of course, there was no such thing as an apron skirt or breeches; the Victorian ladies usually rode in the full regulation of flannel and white petticoats, etc! The habit skirt



A Victorian side-saddle.

at least was made of a fine thin woollen material that would tear easily, should the wearer chance to get hung up on the pummels—being the first effort at a safety-skirt.

The final cliché to the presence of women in the hunting-field, and of their ability to ride to hounds in the company of men, was put by the beautiful Empress of Austria, who, herself a brilliant horsewoman and unhappy in her private life, first came over to England in 1878 to enjoy a season's hunting in the Midlands. She had the best and safest hunters that money could buy and one of the best horsemen of the day, Captain "Bay" Middleton, to "pilot" her, as was then considered the only practicable way for a woman to cross such a country. All writers of the day are at one in admitting the great influence of the Empress in making an acknowledged place for women in the hunting-field. Thereafter it became "the thing" and the fashion. One little peculiarity of the Empress—the carrying of a fan in the hunting-field as well as a whip—was tried but abandoned! Crowds of females who could obtain a

¹ His Grace's hunting attire was often peculiar! "Disconcerting appearance of the Duke of Wellington hunting with the Queen's Hounds wearing a red frock-coat, lilac silk waistcoat, kid gloves, drab fustian trousers and boots we call Wellington." (Lord Ribblesdale in *The Queen's Hounds*.)

horse, a habit and the curious-looking dish, then known as a side-saddle, took to hunting, probably to the annoyance of those ladies who loved sport and had ridden to hounds for many years before the Empress visited England. To-day it is an interesting fact that the Empress acquired her so much admired perfection of seat and hands and control over her horses by years of practice in the Riding School—a science in Great Britain at that time practically forgotten and regarded as quite alien to the hunting-field. (Nethercote, *The Pytchley Hunt*.)

Tribute must be paid also to the famous professional huntsmen who emerged to front rank and whose methods were constantly copied. Charles Davis, the famous huntsman¹ of "the Queen's" and one of the best men who ever put a leg across saddle, "a perfect specimen of a royal servant, a thorough gentleman, a miracle in the saddle, an example everywhere else." (Lord Ribblesdale, *Stag Hunting Recollections*.) Will Goodall and Frank Gillard of Belvoir fame; and Tom Firr, the famous Quorn professional, who died in 1902.

The wearing of velvet caps out hunting was really initiated by George III, who had discarded the three-cornered hat—the customary wear of gentlemen—for the velvet jockey-cap, then worn by private mounted servants in livery such as jockeys, outriders and postillions.² (Ordinary coachmen, being unmounted servants, and footmen on carriages, wore brimmed hats turned up or down (later on), as also did grooms riding second-horse.) Gradually, others took to the velvet cap—but for a long time it was only worn by a Hunt staff in their capacity of private mounted servants. A Master, even when hunting hounds himself, continued in many countries to wear a brimmed hat, tall or low; Surtees describes the Master of the Flat Hat Hunt as wearing a hat, not a cap. Squire Osbaldeston was one of the first M.F.H.s hunting hounds himself, to turn out in a velvet cap, being quickly followed by others. The ornamental ribbon which to-day serves to keep the rain from running down the wearer's neck, is, of course, the remains of the ribbon that tied the *queue* neatly back.

Gradually, a new era of fox-hunting from a riding point of view emerged. Lord Ribblesdale wrote: "To ride your horse fairly, to

¹ The Hunt servants of the Royal Buckhounds wore Royal livery, scarlet heavily laced with gold and dark blue waistcoats—eight tail buttons on the coat. The Master wore a green plush coat.

² The postillions, wrongly called sometimes outriders, who really were attendants in the carriage, riding the horses drawing state carriages to Ascot Races, wear these velvet caps of their office.

get to the end of many runs with few falls and to finish a season with a soundish stud is more the criterion of artistic riding to hounds, not the bravo-like adventures of the Mytton type which entitled the fox-hunter to a place in the sporting anthologies of sixty years ago." For this change of attitude that perfect horseman and gentleman, Whyte Melville, was more responsible than most. No longer was it the test of a good hunt and long run to see dead horses lying about—as was so often pictured by Alken. Great gentlemen who would have made their mark in anything they had chosen for their life's work, selected the hunting-field—the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Annaly, Mr. Fernie, the Earl of Lonsdale—set a model for Masters of Hounds and gave a tone to hunting in the "eighties" and "nineties" which I suppose has never been surpassed.

Then the introduction of barbed wire—said to have been invented for, and sold off cheap after, the Boer War—altered the character of a straight ride across country. Hunting could never be the same again.

*"And bitter the curses you launch in your ire
At the villain who fenced his enclosure with wire."*

Thence onwards people have tended to think more of the ride than the hunt. I wonder. Then there are some who say that one-tenth of those out hunting come to see hounds, two-fifths come to ride, and the remainder come to see their friends. I wonder.

To the South African War, 1899-1900, went many of the best hunting men in Great Britain with their hunters—never to return. 1914 found men and horses again ready for the Call. Only those who played some part know the difficulties despite which somehow hunting was carried on until the end of the Great War—regulations as to food for hounds and forage, lack of money, labour, horses, etc. Ways and means were found, by those "over age," by the young and the "not fit," to keep hounds going—generally for the sake of someone dear at the Front. For the first time women and girls did much of this work, whipping-in to hounds, grooming horses and running a country. Above all, keepers and shooting syndicates had gone too. The result being—Hunting saved for yet another generation.

Meanwhile, at the Front, there was a demand for hounds. In France cavalry officers "waiting for the Push" craved for field sports—a few hounds drifted out, but in deference to the susceptibilities of the French, attempts at hunting on the Western Front had to be abandoned until the Occupation of the Rhine. In Palestine, on the other hand, British officers managed to main-



tain a pack of hounds (very mixed) for hunting fox and jackal around the orange groves of Jaffa at various "dull times"—and over much the same ground that Crusading predecessors had hawked and hunted. "Hunt Steeplechases" took place on the good going in front of Gaza with patrols in touch with the enemy, and a pack of hounds hunted at Salonika. The stories of War-time hunting—and they are many—should be collected.

But though it was difficult enough to keep Hunting going in War-time, to my mind it was even more marvellous that it survived the greater difficulties of the post-War period. Gone was the very flower of the hunting generation, a new breed of farmer occupied the land, hunting tenant-farmers were extinct, great landlords had lost their all, big estates were broken up, small-holdings the rage, and a "new rich," who had not been brought up to hunting, held the money-bags. Broken hearts, physical wrecks, and ruined county-families—did not appear promising material with which to rebuild Hunting, either as a science or a country industry, but still the old fires glowed in wives and daughters and widows, in "crocks" and in the young generation brought up with sporting prints and fox masks on the library walls. There were ominous growls—waste of time, inordinate expense, etc.; opposition from owner-farmers, anti-blood-sports societies, small-holders, etc., etc.; everywhere horses were replaced by cars, grooms by mechanics. "Before your small boy dies people will be giving these animals buns in the Zoo," a world-famous industrial magnate said to a lady, showing him her two "hunters." The Cavalry were given armoured cars and their horses and spurs taken away. Other games were calling, sport in warmer climes, dancing, motor-racing, flying, skiing spoke to the young. Some Sign was wanted, some Leader was required.

The lead came, from an ex-Front-line Officer—the Prince of Wales, now King Edward VIII. Only those who were trying to restart Hunting at that time can appreciate what it meant when the world's most popular young man bought a stud of the best blood-hunters and began to hunt regularly from Melton—and not from Melton only, but sampling other famous hunting countries and riding with a dash and courage the equal of any old-timer, proving again that a man could hunt and carry out arduous duties at the same time. When he started to ride his own horses in Hunt Point-to-Point Races all over the country, the popularity of Hunting was assured for another generation and another difficult obstacle negotiated.

There we must stop. Still some of the people foremost in the modern history of our nation delight to follow hound and

horn and to feel a good horse between their knees ; money is not grudged, tosses and tumbles go unheeded, organisation is not spared, fine characters delight to give of their utmost to the science of hunting the fox, and a Pony Club generation is growing up. Above all, hearts still thrill to "Yonder he goes !"

" And in the larger field of life let skilters stand aside,
Make way for those who want to work and those who dare to ride !
The only one who's worth a place to risk a fall with fate
Is he who steels his gallant heart and rides his country straight."

(WILL H. OGILVIE.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RE EUROPEAN BISON

THIS LETTER APPEARED IN "THE TIMES" OF APRIL 10, 1936, being from Mr. Jan Labinski, Director of the Warsaw Municipal Zoological Garden:

"The following statistics of European bisons are derived from the complete list of all pure-bred European bisons published on June 1, 1935, by the Polish section of the Society for the Protection of the Bison.

The largest number of pure-bred European bisons are to be found in Poland, where there are 11 in the State forest of Bialowieza and 10 in the private ownership of Prince Pless—21 in all. These specimens are the more valuable as 14 of them belong to the pure Bialowieza strain, of which they are the only representatives in the world. Germany is in the second place with 18 bisons, some in the State preserves of Springe and Schorfheide and some in zoological gardens; these bisons are not, however, of the pure Bialowieza strain, but are a cross of Bialowieza and Caucasian bisons. In the third place comes England with 11 specimens, which, though pure-bred European bisons, also represent a mixture of the Bialowieza and Caucasian strains. Sweden, Holland, Hungary, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy also have some bisons. The number of pure-bred European bisons belonging to either the Bialowieza or the Caucasian strain or to a cross of the two strains is at present about 70.

The largest number of crossbred animals—that is to say, of animals partaking of both the European and the American races—are to be found in Soviet Russia, where there are 28 specimens. Next come Germany with 20 and England with 15 specimens. The total number of such crossbred animals in existence at present is about 100.

The guiding lines for the breeding of European bisons, established by the International Society for the Protection of the Bison, which owes its existence to the initiative of the Polish traveller and zoologist, Mr. Jan Sztolcman, are the maintenance and interbreeding of animals of pure European blood only. The ultimate object of these efforts is, of course, to prevent the species from dying out. On the other hand, in Germany during the last few years efforts have been made on a considerable scale to produce crosses between the European and the American races, and subsequently to eliminate the characteristics of the American race by means of selection.

Poland possesses the largest stock of animals of pure European race, and also the only locality—namely, the Bialowieza forest—in which the European bison maintained itself in a wild state down to our own times ; it is only natural that the efforts of the Polish authorities should be devoted to the breeding of animals of pure European blood in accordance with the indications of the International Society for the Protection of the Bison. The preserve of crossbred animals—there are about 10 of them in Poland at present—is quite independent, and is situated in another part of the country : it is used for purposes of scientific experiment and research, but it is not intended that it should contribute to the work of saving the species *Bison bonasus* from extinction."

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ILLUMINATED CHARTER OF FREE WARREN

DATED 1291

Plate VIII.

“**E**DWARD, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, LORD of Ireland and Duke of Aquitania, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, ministers and all bailiffs and their faithful men, greeting! Know that we have granted and by this our charter have confirmed to our beloved Roger de Pilkington that he and his heirs shall forever have free warren in all their demesne lands of Pilkington, Unsworth, Cheetham, Crompton, Sholver, and Wolstenholme in the county of Lancaster, provided however that these lands are not within the bounds of our forest, so that no one shall enter those lands for hunting therein or taking anything pertaining to the warren without the licence or wish of the said Roger or his heirs under our penalty of £10. Wherefore we wish and firmly enjoin for ourselves and our heirs that the said Roger and his heirs shall forever have free warren in all their said demesne lands, provided that those lands are not within the bounds of our forest, so that no one shall enter those lands for hunting therein or taking anything pertaining to the warren without the licence and wish of the said Roger or his heirs under our penalty of £10 as aforesaid. These being witnesses the venerable fathers J. Archbishop of York, R. bishop of Bath and Wells, and A. bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Robert Tybotot, John de Vesey, Walter de Bello Campo, William de Monte Reuelli, John de St. John, Richard de Boxo and others.

Given by our own hand at Norham, 10 June, 19th year of our reign.
Westminster.”

The birds and beasts depicted are—a peacock, woodcock, owl, hawk, finches and a quail; rabbits, a cow, goat, squirrel, fox, wild boar, red deer stag and hind, roebuck and fallow deer.

APPENDIX III

ANTIQUITY OF THE BRITISH RABBIT

IT SEEMS FAIRLY DEFINITE THAT THE RABBIT HAS ONLY BEEN an inhabitant of Great Britain for some 900 years. Statements that certain so-called fossil specimens carrying back the history of the rabbit in these islands some further 25,000 years have recently been disproved. It is probable that the rabbit bones referred to were due to relatively recent incursions, as Mr. M. A. C. Hinton has proved that the mineral condition of these bones differs considerably from the contemporary Pleistocene cave deposits.

Of the British rabbit Mr. Guy Dollman of the Natural History Museum (London) writes:

"The rabbit is popularly supposed to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans, but there appears to be no evidence in support of this theory. There are no pre-Norman British allusions to this animal, and rabbit-warrens are not mentioned in the Domesday Book, so that the animal cannot have been plentiful during this time. The first undoubted record of the occurrence of the rabbit in Britain is one by Mr. Hinton, who identified the bones of specimens of rabbits which had been used for food from the midden of Rayleigh Castle, Essex, the occupation of which began in the eleventh and ended about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The animal soon became an important item at feasts, and we read in a list of meat and poultry provided at the installation feast of Ralph de Borne, Abbot of St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury, in the year 1309, that rabbits cost about sixpence each, which, considering the value of money in those days, would seem to show that these animals were still scarce. By the year 1413-1414 the price had come down to twopence each, but, in spite of this, there is evidence to show that the animal remained scarce in many parts of the country during this period. In Scotland the rabbit was little known before the beginning of the nineteenth century, except in areas where it had been introduced. In Ireland the name of the rabbit begins to appear in documents at about the same time as in England, no mention being made by the ancient Irish hunters of these animals prior to this time."

APPENDIX IV

WELSH FOXHOUNDS (ROUGH-COATED VARIETY)

Notes by L. Edwards *re* David Davies's Hounds, Llandinam.

A MIXED LOT. CROSS BRED : WELSH-ENGLISH, ENGLISH-FELL, Fell-Welsh-English, Welsh (pure bred).
The pure-bred Welsh mostly white, rough-coated, with high occipital crest, as No. 2.

No. 1. Rough-coated, red-tan in colour with white nose, collar, pads and tip of stern.

Some carry sterns high, but most low as No. 2. No fixed colour is laid down in stud book as to type, but a broken (rough) coat is definitely desired, although many of the old packs were smooth-coated (such as old John Vaughan's of Penmain—some of Mr. Evan Jones of Ynysfor's late pack).

Mr. David Davies himself prefers the rough white-coated and breeds for them. On seeing a litter with several nearly black, I chaffed Jack Davies, the huntsman (a great "character" by the way), who retorted : "Well, indeed we must have some black ones, look you, to hunt in the snow!" (When you cannot see the white!)

There seemed to be some difference of opinion on type, as one rough-coated looked a very small bitch, had a ruff and the general appearance of a collie, yet took a prize at Welshpool.

Many were smooth-coated and typical Fell hounds, from which they were bred—being only first and second crosses—these, of course, not eligible for Welsh stud book.

The majority, however, are rough-coated and to the ordinary observer difficult to distinguish from otter hounds. They appear to me (both Fell and Welsh) to bear a strong resemblance, with their high-peaked heads and drooping ears, to the old pictures of the Southern Hound, and very like the only existing picture of the old N. Devon staghounds, except the latter had more colour.

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